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INSIDE KUWAIT: Anger and Chaos

TIME

A Moment To Savor

**And the lessons
of victory**



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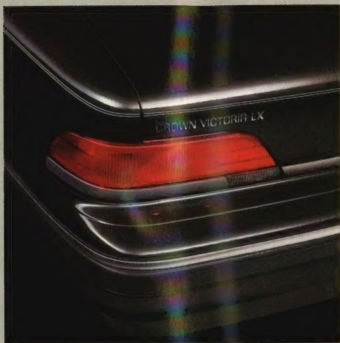
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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

THE GULF WAR: As U.S. troops head home, chaos rules Kuwait and unrest roils Iraq

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Joy at war's end: an airman from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing shares the homecoming warmth with a happy crowd at Langley Air Force Base in Virginia

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Easing the pain

TIME

"Throughout this century, wherever you have found our soldiers defending freedom, wherever you have found innocent victims of war, you also found the Red Cross."

The words are those of American Red Cross President Elizabeth Dole as she described some of her organization's efforts to ease the pain of the Persian Gulf crisis:

- Delivering tens of thousands of messages from home of births, deaths and critical family problems.
- Working with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement to help refugees, displaced civilians and prisoners of war.
- Offering assistance, through local Red Cross chapters, to families of those serving in the gulf—support groups, counseling and referral services.

Indeed, the Red Cross has been on the scene in the Persian Gulf war as it has been in countless peacetime disasters, providing a host of humanitarian services. And although combat operations have been suspended, the need for Red Cross services continues as long as families are separated and war victims are homeless. So now the Red Cross needs a transfusion of its own: your donations of money to help it carry out its steadily growing mission.

That's why Mrs. Dole has announced the Gulf Crisis Fund, her organization's biggest war-relief effort since World War II. The goal: \$30 million. Former President Ronald Reagan is chairing the campaign, and President George Bush provided the first donation. A number of corporations, including Mobil, also have responded to the call.

Two-thirds of the money raised will go for American Red Cross efforts like those that have already helped thousands of service-people and their families. A third of the funds raised will be used for international humanitarian services: shelter, food and clothing for refugees, and the effort to ensure humanitarian treatment of all prisoners of war.

"As much as the Red Cross and other organizations are accomplishing, there's still more to do," Mrs. Dole said. "Emergency messages must continue to be delivered. . . Families must continue to receive hope, help and encouragement. Refugees and displaced civilians must receive care and compassion."

If you, your company or organization can contribute, you will be helping the Red Cross provide an invaluable service.

Checks made out to the Gulf Crisis Fund can be sent to the American Red Cross, P.O. Box 37243, Washington, DC 20013, or you can call 800-842-2200.

It's a way you can help ease the pain of war.

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LETTERS

BEGINNING OF THE END

"If we can create such enormous military firepower, we also have the capacity to create peaceful solutions to conflicts."

Alexandra Tsounis
Sydney, Australia



Iraq's Saddam Hussein had to be stopped [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 25]. If he had been left unchecked to build up his military strength with the wealth he stole from Kuwait, what could we have expected next from him? The invasion and destruction of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Israel or others? I am sorry that there were Iraqi civilian casualties, but let's not forget the dead in Israel and Kuwait.

Judy Grastorf
Orange, N.J.

Can it be that BUSH stands for Beat Up Saddam Hussein? If there has to be a country that acts as the appointed policeman of the world, I would much prefer that it be the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union or China.

Roger Tan
Kuala Lumpur

I used to think the U.S. spent too much money on defense, but now I'm grateful. I know my country will never be invaded or

destroyed. I will not have to live the nightmare that the Kuwaitis did. If our nation has to sacrifice money for other programs in order to ensure that its citizens will not be killed, tortured or starved by enemy forces, then so be it.

Jason S. Winston
Sherman Oaks, Calif.

The U.S. Army's Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the allied forces, will no doubt become a five-star general. Here's to a future TIME Man of the Year!

Frank D'Agostino
Hillsdale, N.J.

The U.S. just needed some colonial-minded allies, a distracted ex-rival like the U.S.S.R. and a colossal Third World fool like Saddam in order to put its boot on top of the Middle East's oil resources.

S.J. Rigby
Buenos Aires

What does it matter that America might have been fighting for oil, as long as it did the job of liberating occupied Kuwait and halting the inhuman acts inflicted there by Saddam Hussein?

Maria Lee
Newcastle, England

It is not that the Arab masses are so much in favor of Saddam as they are anti-Israel and, by extension, anti-U.S. Anybody who is willing to retaliate against Israel will become a hero to the Arabs—even a gangster like Saddam.

Mohammad al-Nashef
Jokela, Finland

President Bush has proved his executive ability in effectively communicating with world leaders and forging a common course of action. Now he has the opportunity to manage an equally challenging task at home and address the areas of equality, education, economy and ecology. He needs to find a group of top domestic strategists and give them the resources and the time to accomplish his objectives.

Peter Allen Morrison
Danbury, Conn.

The first caveman to pick up a stone and fling it at an enemy could never have dreamed that mankind would progress to the stage that we have reached today. We have developed weapons of immense proportions, and we can destroy ourselves many times over. We are not living in the jungle anymore, nor are we compelled to kill in order to survive. At least we have evolved beyond that point. If we can create such enormous military firepower, we also have the capacity to create peaceful solutions to conflicts.

Alexandra Tsounis
Sydney, Australia

LETTERS

After the War

In discussing the consequences to the region after the end of the gulf war [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 25], you said, "[Israel's Yitzhak] Shamir has yet to face the fact that . . . the Middle East will never achieve a lasting peace until the Israelis and Palestinians are ready to sit down and talk seriously about the future." What weary claptrap! Do you really believe that even the extinction of Israel and the existence of a Palestinian state would miraculously create "lasting peace" among Arab nations? Age-old inter-Arab enmities and international pressures on the region prevent peace in the Middle East. It was an Arab leader who coveted and desecrated Kuwait. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a convenient excuse.

*Matt Steinbuch
Los Angeles*

When the Middle East recovers from the shock of the gulf war, its people may finally wake up to the realization that their reliance on dreams driven by Saddam's rhetoric must be replaced by a more realistic world view. If the region is ever to recover from a cycle of discontent, despotic leadership must be followed by pluralistic, responsible government.

*Eitan Bograchov
Boston*

All law, international law included, must be backed by force, and today we do not have a system capable of dealing with problems such as those in the Middle East. Now that the war is over, let us hope the nations of the world strengthen the international system so that such a conflict will never again be necessary.

*Virginia Frederick
Severna Park, Md.*

The end of the war cannot possibly solve all the problems facing us, but it is a start. I hope that the allies' humane treatment of the enemy prisoners will remain in the Iraqis' memories in sharp contrast to the way Saddam treated his captives. Perhaps eventually some Iraqis will be able and willing to say to their countrymen that the allies fought to rescue them. Then compassion and forgiveness will begin to replace fear and hatred.

*James Martyn
Santa Monica, Calif.*

How do we persuade Bush to bring as much intensity to bear on our massive domestic problems as he did on the war?

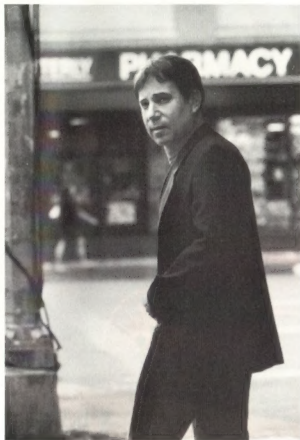
*William R. Roof
Andover, Mass.*

The allies seem to have felt they were aligned against a second Hitler. Shame on all the members of the U.N. Security Council, including the Soviets, who voted

PAUL SIMON

THE RHYTHM OF THE SAINTS

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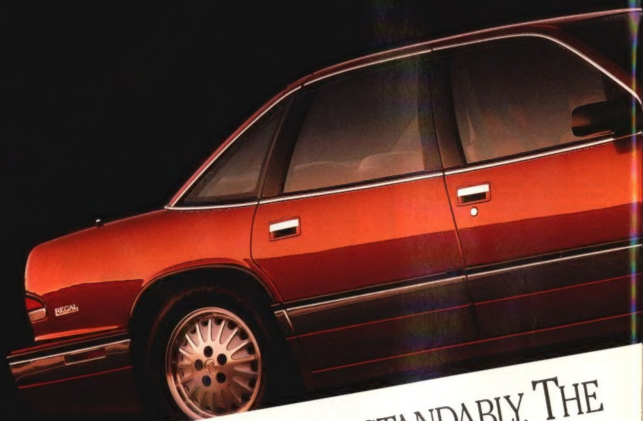
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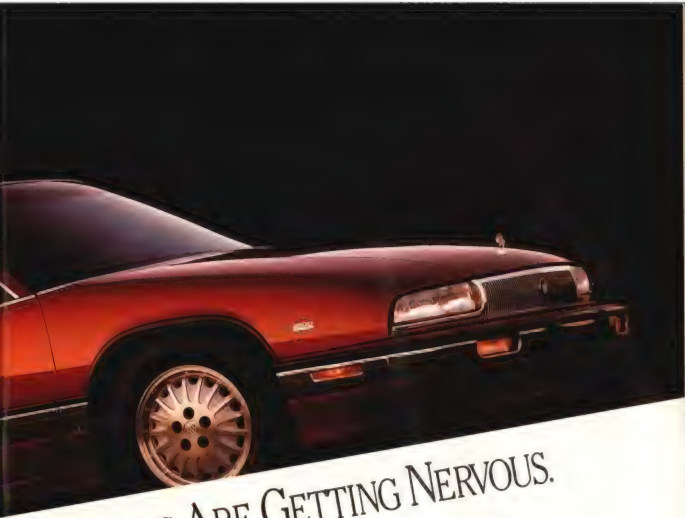
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LETTERS

for war. They had a multibillion-dollar business selling weapons to Saddam before the invasion of Kuwait. Are these countries going to be the guardians of the world? Who will stop them if they can veto any U.N. resolution?

*Juan B. Martinez
Mexico City*

Iraq's Air Force

A statement from me was used out of context and applied to the entire gulf campaign. I was quoted as saying that "in a day he [Saddam] would be decimated. It would be over in a day" [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 18]. That quote was in response to a reporter's asking how long it would take the allies to win an air war. History has shown that the Iraqi air force didn't last even that long as an effective fighting force.

*Jay B. Yakeley
Captain, U.S.N.
San Francisco*

Going Nuclear

As an Iranian, I cannot be a friend of Saddam Hussein's. But to my dismay, the architects of American policy match him on all counts. Strobe Talbott was wrong to say Americans, despite having nukes, would never use them against Iraq [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 11]. Which was the first and only nation to use the atom bomb? The sole difference is the U.S.'s superior propaganda machine. Americans had better remember that power and injustice never last forever!

*Ghamar Moshiri
Toronto*

Flag Fervor

With outrage and utter disbelief, I read your article "It's a Grand Old (Politically Correct) Flag" [THE GULF WAR, Feb. 25]. Any individual, American or not, has the right to refuse to wear or display the American flag. I find it incomprehensible that Seton Hall University basketball player Marco Lokar and his wife should have received death threats because he refused to wear an American flag emblem on his uniform, and that he felt he had to drop out of school. If we cannot or will not guarantee freedom of expression without fear as a basic right within our own borders, how could we profess to be fighting for this same right in the Persian Gulf?

*Kristina Slader
Lake Forest, Ill.*

The story about Lokar's refusal to wear the American flag brought back a memory from a time we all abhor. In a town in occupied Poland during World War II, a small band of men in German uniforms marched through the streets parading their flag, the swastika. Although I was young, I remem-

ber so clearly a Polish man who defiantly leaned against a wall with both hands in his pockets. In a flash, three of the marching men raced out of formation, jumped on him, beat him up and left him bruised and bleeding on the pavement. This scene filled me with horror. Even as a child, I recognized the evil that develops when men, out of patriotic fervor, feel justified in using violence against people who do not share their convictions. Since then I have never saluted any flag. The defiant man taught me a lesson I will never forget.

*Ines Labunski Roberts
Santa Barbara, Calif.*

How easy it is to forget the values that make this country great. Those who would silence war critics while wrapping themselves in the flag are hypocrites.

*Peter Zheutlin
Needham, Mass.*

Mapping It Out

We tried to cram as much information as possible onto our special pullout battle map and weapons chart [Feb. 25], but, of course, there wasn't enough room for everything. Readers have let us know that they missed seeing specific aircraft such as the F-4G Wild Weasel, the A-6 Intruder and the KC-135 tanker.

Canadians felt their contribution of troops and aircraft had been overlooked. Residents of Ireland and India wanted their countries' names added to the list of nations that had contributed economic and humanitarian assistance. There were complaints that on the map, the areas occupied by Israel should have been shown in a different color from the one used for Israel itself rather than defined by lines indicating the borders. If we had been able to, we would have included many more weapons and provided additional detail on our map, but given the limitations of size, we simply could not.

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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS/Compiled by William Tynan



TELEVISION

THE JOSEPHINE BAKER

STORY (HBO, March 16, 18). The first of two planned TV movies about the legendary chanteuse, who faced racial prejudice in America while winning acclaim in France. Star Lynn Whitfield flashes her bare breasts but provides few other clues to Baker's stage appeal.

A SEASON OF GIANTS (TNT, March 17-18, 8 p.m. EST). The life and times of Michelangelo (British newcomer Mark Frankel) are the subject of this lush-looking, sili-sounding four-hour mini-series, which also purports to give us the skinny on the "eccentric" Leonardo (John Glover—who else?), Pope Julius II (F. Murray Abraham), Raphael and Savonarola. In short, your basic Italian Renaissance docudrama.



MOVIES

THE DOORS. Jim Morrison, the satanic seraph of psychedelic rock, lighted his share of

libidinal fires before his death in 1971, but is his story worth \$40 million of somebody's money and 135 minutes of your time? Not the way Oliver Stone tells it, as a display of pop fame's excess. That was evident back in the '60s; 1991 is no time to wallow in the mire.

SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY.

A suave beast (Patrick Bergin) tracks down his abused wife (Julia Roberts) after she has faked her death and escaped his clutches. A good idea for a feminist thriller soon degenerates, under Joseph Ruben's direction, into a wheezy lady-in-distress melodrama. Paging Barbara Stanwyck.

AY, CARMELA! Carmen Maura (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*) is a cabaret artiste caught in the cross fire of the Spanish Civil War. Director Carlos Saura makes all the obvious points, but Maura makes them shine like new truths.



MUSIC

STING: THE SOUL CAGES (A&M). Oh, shut up. Maundering, egocentric speculations on spiritual anomic, all in po-

lite tempos. There are occasional signs of life: the hit single *All This Time* shows Sting can still shake loose when he likes. He should make a habit of it.

DION: BRONX BLUES: THE COLUMBIA RECORDINGS (1962-1965)

(Columbia/Legacy). One of the greatest rock singers of any complexion, caught here in transition from the king of romantic, street-savvy doo-wop to a kind of gentle bard of urban blues.

VITAMIN L: EVERYONE'S INVITED

(Lancaster Productions/Emeryville, Calif.). Are your kids too old for *Sesame Street* but too young for Madonna? Give them a dose of Vitamin L, a wholesome pop-rock group of three teens and three grownups led by songwriter Jan Nigro. Their new album covers such serious matters as playground put-downs and pollution but still has enough rhythm and soul to appeal to today's hip youngsters.



THEATER

MULE BONE. Famed among scholars of black literature as an intriguing might-have-been, this 1930 collaboration between Harlem poet Langston Hughes and fiction writer Zora Neale Hurston needed 61 years to make it to Broadway. The result, a fable set in a small Florida town, is vibrantly acted and full of charm, its dialectal richness enhanced by twangy Taj Mahal songs.

THE SNOW BALL. Wasp laureate A.R. Gurney (*The Cocktail Hour*, *Love Letters*) is a shrewd chronicler of social-class customs and conflicts in this Hartford Stage mounting (also to appear at San Diego's Old Globe) of a new play with music and dance adapted from his poignant novel. It shows the seductive folly of revisiting past pleasures—for a generation that revives its youthful midwinter gale and for a pair of former partners, perfect on the dance floor but not off, reunited in a last bittersweet waltz.

AND THE WORLD GOES 'ROUND.

This cocktail of an off-Broadway review tastes cynical, then sweetly sentimental, in classic Tin Pan Alley style. It honors a stellar team: composer John Kander and lyricist Fred Ebb (*Cabaret*, *Chicago*, *The Rink*).



ART

COROT TO MONET: THE RISE OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING

IN FRANCE, the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H. The pastoral beauty of rural France is explored through more than a hundred 19th-century Barbizon paintings, including works by Daubigny, Millet and Pissarro. Through April 29.

ISLAMIC ART AND PATRONAGE: TREASURES FROM KUWAIT

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth. This show's 107 items—illuminated manuscripts, glazed pottery and jewel-encrusted metalwork—are a poignant reminder of the artistic heritage of one of the world's most turbulent regions. That heritage is explored in a handsomely illustrated companion book edited by Esin Atil (Rizzoli; \$65). Through May 12.



ETCETERA

PARSIFAL. On paper at least, it sings. Wagner's perennial Lenten draw is a specialty of James Levine, artistic director of the Metropolitan Opera, and for this year's new production he has united Jessye Norman as Kundry and superlative Plácido Domingo in the title role. Through April 6.

ROYAL BALLET. Britain's premier troupe ventures to Washington's Kennedy Center with *Swan Lake*, two Frederick Ashton classics and the company's 1989 hit, *The Prince of the Pagodas*. Through March 24.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

Here is the pseudo event not everyone has been waiting for: the publication of Bret Easton Ellis' controversial *American Psycho* (Vintage; \$11), the sophomoric, overwritten satire of the yuppie '80s that contains the most gratuitous descriptions of sadistic murder and mayhem ever contained in a general trade novel. Simon & Schuster decided to surrender a \$300,000 advance to Ellis and not publish his book after staff protests and press stories threatened risks greater than anticipated rewards. Snapped up at a bargain price by Random House for its Vintage division, the manuscript has undergone the editorial equivalent of liposuction. It is now leaner, meaner but not better. In fact, it is worse because the disgusting parts are easier to find. No plot or characterization has been inserted to mar the originality of the work's hostile infantilism. *American Psycho* still poses the challenging question: How much feces can a young writer smear on the wall before Mommy and Daddy really get angry?

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GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Daniel S. Levy



The Soviet Brain Drain

Mikhail Gorbachev may hold out hope for the return of *perestroika*, but he won't be getting much encouragement. "Among Gorbachev's top advisers, just about everybody is gone," claims John Mroz, president of the Institute for East-West Security Studies. Many other reform-minded leaders have left the country altogether. The latest departure: Boris Fyodorov, the respected finance minister of the Russian republic, who will take up a job in London later this month at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Most of Gorbachev's policy shapers have been replaced by unknowns from the Central Committee's ideology department. Before their arrival, some of these new advisers reportedly helped draft a secret memorandum last summer that became the blueprint for the January military crackdown in Lithuania. The classified memo surfaced in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, a new liberal daily newspaper that has been tolerated despite the general ebbing of *glasnost* that has occurred in the state-run electronic media.

When Johnny Comes Drooling Home

The Pentagon is worried about all the pent-up, hell-raising energy among soldiers who have been stationed in the gulf for the past seven months. Demobilized troops, before they once again encounter freely available sex and alcohol, will be put through a moral vaccination program that has been dubbed "libido re-entry." Forces leav-

ing the area will be bombarded with a series of public-health messages emphasizing safe sex and responsible drinking habits. In Oceanside, Calif., near the Camp Pendleton Marine base, authorities will advise returning grunts about how they can avoid street scams. "We expect that every hooker and con artist who can get here will prey on these guys," says a spokesman, "because they've got all this money saved up."

A Hidden Danger In the Shells?

Some soldiers who fought in the gulf may have been exposed to a battlefield risk that won't show itself for years. MIA Abrams tanks and A-10 Thunderbolt fighter-bombers fired thousands of high-velocity shells that are made with depleted uranium, an extremely heavy metal that enables the weapons to penetrate the armor of enemy tanks. On impact, radioactive oxidized uranium is released into the air, which may have exposed anyone downwind to a lung-cancer risk. The Army and Air Force have judged the use of these shells to be safe. Yet concern



over the hazards of depleted uranium goes back to at least 1980, when a New York plant that fabricated the shells from uranium metal chips was shut down. State health officials were concerned because radioactive emissions in the area around the building were as much as 25 times as high as levels that were deemed safe under local law.

No Smoking During the Drill

Les Zuke, director of communications for cigarette giant Philip Morris, was calmly addressing planners of the company's Benson & Hedges blues festival in New Orleans when an unexpected visitor entered the room. "You are killing my people!" the woman shouted, turning over tables and ranting that advertisements and promotions aimed at minority smokers are immoral. After 30 seconds, order was restored, and the stunned p.r. staff learned that the outburst was only a drill. Zuke had paid a

New York actress \$5,000 to stage the disturbance to help event organizers learn how to handle the real thing. "I felt this would be a very dramatic way for me to make points about the issues that face us in the tobacco industry every day," he said.

The Spooks' Secret Sculpture Garden

Secrecy at CIA headquarters extends all the way to the courtyard. *Kryptos*, a granite-and-copper sculpture by Washington artist Jim Sanborn, was quietly installed last November near a new building on the agency's grounds. Taxpayers financed the \$250,000 work, but that does not guarantee public access. Sanborn's sculpture features a 2,000-character encoded message that is believed to have been penned by a well-known writer whose name has not been disclosed. Besides the artist and the author, only CIA director William Webster knows what the top-secret phrase says, according to an agency spokesman. The CIA does not allow the general public to visit its Langley, Va., compound, so *Kryptos* is on view only for employees or authorized visitors. Ironically, the Sanborn sculpture constitutes what the CIA calls its "Tribute to Information."



The Great TV Expose-O-Meter

The life cycle of a TV sensation can be stunningly quick: from talk-of-the-tube to zap-inducing bore in just a few weeks' time. A look at the trajectory of TV's meteoric names:

Bart Simpson The ultimate cautionary tale: from cameo appearances to T-shirt overexposure in just one year. Now

he hit an old lady on the head with a sock full of sand.

Wolf Blitzer The man with one emotion (stoicism) and a singular name launched a thousand late-night gags. Now that the war's over, his popularity may evaporate. But as a serious journalist, he's probably better off without the hubbub. Just ask Arthur Kent, the Scud Stud.

Homey the Clown The abusive character on *In Living Color* was a favorite with gulf soldiers, who yelled his phrase "Homey don't play that!" after hitting enemy targets. In New York City a 10-year-old bragged that he was imitating the ornery Homey when



Nancy Weston

After months of suspense, *thirtysomething's* writers let her triumph over cancer and bumped off goldilocks Gary instead. But if the show is renewed, viewers may question whether the oh-so-plucky Nancy was worth the trouble. Why did she marry such a jerk, anyway?

The Copy-Machine Guy Wondering

why your co-workers keep using dumb variations of your name? Blame *Saturday Night Live's* latest character, Richard Layman, an annoying office nerd who sits near the copier and tries too hard to be everyone's friend. Who? You know, the Richmeister, Rich-ster, Rich-O...



FROM THE PUBLISHER

Since Iraq's T-72 tanks rolled into Kuwait seven months ago, special correspondent Michael Kramer has flown to Saudi Arabia on five separate occasions to report on the war. During each trip, he made sure to go to the mountainous resort of Taif to visit with Kuwait's ruling family and the government in exile. In his story this week, Kramer shares his unique perspective on the Kuwaitis and tells what he found when he entered the ransacked shell of Kuwait City with six Kuwaiti ministers.

"Nothing is working well," says Mike. "The roads are chewed up by allied bombs and clogged with military convoys. On the way from Saudi Arabia we passed trucks carrying bottled water and satellite dishes for telephones; they didn't arrive for days. In Kuwait City the ministers set up their headquarters in the Armed Forces Hospital, and four days later they discovered an Iraqi soldier who had been hiding in a bathroom there."

Joining reporter Lara Marlowe and photographer Rudi Frey at TIME's outpost in the formerly luxe Kuwait International Ho-

tel, Kramer found there was no electricity and little hot food, and that water ran only twice a day for brief periods. Besides food, one of the most important commodities in Kuwait City

right now is spare tires. "People steal them, and with no electricity there's no way to repair them," says Kramer. "There are so many sharp pieces of metal on the road that a trip to the border is considered—at a minimum—a 'three-spare' trip."

Mike, who has covered wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Beirut, finds himself treading lightly in Kuwait. British troops disarmed a booby-trapped doorway at an amusement park he went to visit. Later he was detained for four hours by a young Kuwaiti soldier who didn't understand his ID papers. "Things can get a little tense, and you have to watch yourself," he said. "The soldiers at the checkpoints get shot at almost every night. You never go out alone."

Although they often had horrible stories to tell, many Kuwaitis were enthusiastic about sharing their thoughts and experiences with Kramer. "We journalists," he said, "are considered liberators as much as the troops are."



Michael Kramer in ransacked Kuwait City last week

"We journalists are considered liberators."

Robert L. Miller



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● COVER STORIES

Triumphant

Desert Storm's troops get a hero's welcome for a victory that changes



Return

America's place in the world



Nation

TIME MARCH 18, 1991

By LANCE MORROW



The war was a defining moment, everyone thought.

What exactly did it define?

- The end of the old American depression called the Vietnam syndrome—the compulsive pessimism, the need to look for downsides and dooms?
- The birth of a new American century—onset of a unipolar world, with America playing the global cop?
- Another chapter in an age of astonishments that has brought down the Berlin Wall, ended the cold war and begun preliminary work on the disintegration of the Soviet Union?
- The first post-nuclear big war, almost as quick and lethal as one with nukes, but smarter, fairer, precisely selective in its targets, with no radioactive aftereffects?
- The first war epic of the global village's electronic theater?
- The apotheosis of war making as a brilliant American package—a dazzling, compacted product, like some new concentrate of intervention: Fast! Improved! Effective!
- The dawn of a new world order?

All of those and much, much more. Or somewhat less.

The enterprise is still surrounded by a daze of astonishment; that it should have been so quick, so "easy," so devastating in effect. That coalition casualties should have been so light. That the cost to American taxpayers will be relatively small (\$15 billion or less if Japan, Germany and others honor their pledges of financial support). That Saddam Hussein should have been so cartoon-villainous (and incompetent as a military leader). That his soldiers should have committed atrocities that took the moral onus off the carnage that the coalition left in the desert.

The American mind may have sought out an innocent analogy: George Bush had—unexpectedly, miraculously—found the sweet spot. He and his men (Powell, Schwarzkopf, Scowcroft) had performed a miracle of American concentration and grace under pressure, after years when those seemed almost archaic American talents. Now Bush was rounding the bases while the baseball he hit was still rising in the air and might yet—who knows?—go into some orbit of higher historical meaning.

Whatever the significance of the war, most Americans, giddy with relief and pride and a still-permeating sense of unre-

Langley Air Force Base, Va.: Airmen with the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing are greeted by a cheering throng

ality, savored the moment. The first soldiers to come home from the gulf started pouring off transports. A trooper arrived at J.F.K. airport and said, "We're proud of what we done. We know we done the right thing." At Hunter Army Airfield in southern Georgia, 104 troops of the 24th Infantry Division, still dressed in desert camouflage, climbed off the plane in the middle of the night to a raucous celebration in which military discipline instantly fell apart. Friends and relatives swarmed onto the field to engulf the soldiers. A trooper protested a brief military formation by shouting: "The women are waiting, and the beer is cold!" No one in Hinesville slept that night.

On a cloudless Friday afternoon, several thousand servicemen gathered at Travis Air Force Base northeast of San Francisco to welcome back 430 crewmen from the U.S.N.S. *Mercy*, a onetime supertanker converted into a hospital ship. (A skeleton crew will sail the *Mercy* home from the gulf, arriving in 28 days.) The crewmen were cheered at Travis, then rode in buses to the Navy's Oak Knoll Hospital in Oakland with a motorcycle police escort.

Along the interstate, knots of welcome-gatherers gathered, waving American flags and yellow ribbons. A few snapped to attention and saluted as the motorcade sped by. Navy ombudsman Denise Allhouse said, "This is just the start of the celebration. The major welcome will be when that big, white, beautiful ship comes home through the Golden Gate in a few weeks."

One of the welcome-gatherers was Carlos Melendrez, a Vietnam vet who noted the contrast between the welcome today and the one he got when he returned from his war: "The first thing I did at the airport was rush to the men's room and get rid of my uniform. I was ashamed. The guys and girls today can be proud to wear it."

George Bush had gone before a joint session of Congress three days earlier and made his way through something of the same incredulous, almost goofy daze, through washes of applause amid a sea of American flags. He took the triumph with grins and body English becomingly modest in a man enjoying a 90% approval rating in the polls and what in the conventional wisdom of the moment seemed the all but certain prospect of re-election in 1992.

Bush, vindicated beyond the imagining of most war leaders, delivered an emotional speech that brimmed with a pride entirely justified and a self-congratulation that was almost wishful. He urged on the nation the idea that "Americans are a caring people. We are a good people, a generous people... We went halfway around the world to do what is moral and just and right. And we fought hard, and—with



others—we won the war. And we lifted the yoke of aggression and tyranny from a small country that many Americans had never even heard of, and we asked nothing in return. We're coming home now proud, confident, heads high... We are Americans."

Bush has never been comfortable with what he calls the "vision thing," but in the context of the gulf war and its aftermath his mind has grown fairly visionary. Three

times in his speech Bush conjured up a phrase he has used much in recent months—"new world order."

What does new world order mean—in George Bush's mind? In the future of the world? Is it a rhetorical flourish in the same harmless league as his "thousand points of light"? Or does the phrase betoken some deeper American ambition—a pattern of the Persian Gulf intervention to be extended elsewhere in the world as occasions arise?

The rest of the world has beheld the gulf war and its outcome, the riveting seven-month video, with expressions of admiration, awe, wariness, discomfort and, in the case of many Arabs, a sense of rage and sorrow and betrayal. Nearly everyone is puzzled by the idea of a new world order.

In his State of the Union speech last month, Bush honored the collaborative aspects of his vision: "What is at stake is more than one small country. It is a big idea, a new world

Which of these are the lessons from the war with Iraq?

	A lesson	Not a lesson
The U.S. is still the greatest military power	86%	11%
The U.S. must increase its efforts to end the unrest in the Middle East	65%	28%
The U.S. should not hesitate to use military force to protect its interests around the world	58%	34%
Only the U.S. can take the lead in protecting democracy in the world	43%	50%

From a telephone poll of 1,000 American adults taken by TIME/CNN on March 1 by Greenfield/Levine/Quinn. Reporting error in column header: "We" should read "You".

TIME/CNN



Fort Stewart, Ga.: Pandemonium, American flags and tearful embraces await the returning members of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division

order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and the rule of law." But Bush's overall emphasis was on what British imperialists used to call "the white man's burden"—America's mission as world policeman. His language and attitude sounded remarkably similar to the "pay any price, bear any burden" ethos that John Kennedy formulated in his Inaugural Address.

Bush said that "aggression will meet collective resistance." But "among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up."

On Feb. 1, in a speech to soldiers and their families at Fort Stewart in Georgia, Bush stated the thought more nakedly: "When we win, and we will, we will have taught a dangerous dictator, and any tyrant

tempted to follow in his footsteps, that the U.S. has a new credibility and that what we say goes."

The benign reading of Bush's new world order is that with the end of the cold war—presumably, the end of the old East-West struggle—the powers of the world can find new configurations. The United Nations may be able at last to fulfill the hopes of its founders as a mechanism for collective security. The gulf crisis, under Bush's masterful organization, brought together an extraordinary new coalition, including the U.S., the Soviet Union, Egypt, Syria and 24 other nations, to confront an outlaw state.

The trouble is that order is a 19th-century term that suggests Metternichian arrangements of large, heavy, somewhat static entities. History in the late 20th century seems to belong more to chaos theory and particle physics and fractals—it moves by bizarre accelerations and illogics, by deconstructions and bursts of light. It is global history with dangerous simultaneities at work: instantaneous planetary communications coexist with atavistic greeds and hungers, like Saddam Hussein's: *CNN*

looks in upon old, moldy evils. This bizarre new physics of history might well argue for some kind of ordering. But the new world order, the American version as Bush describes it, may not be new at all. It could be a lumbering and discredited apparatus, a revival of what seemed like a triumphal world-saving machine in 1945, that is effective only in the nostalgia of aging Americans. The world is a safer place now than it was two or three weeks ago. But if Bush's new world order is premised on the model of the U.S. as global intervener, making the old righteous American noises, then the world has a right to be nervous.

In 1945 Japan, Germany and most of the rest of Europe lay in smoking ruins. It is an utterly different world now. The coalition's brilliant desert campaign is not a repeatable model: history does not usually enact itself in black-and-white, good-guy-bad-guy melodramas.

Being the globe's sole superpower has limited application. It is enough to have shown the gun. It must be drawn only very rarely. Americans, liking to be liked, are sometimes astonished at the hatreds they arouse—in the Arab world, for example, in

Latin America and elsewhere—battered generally running south to north, from have-nots to one of the gaudiest of the haves.

Still, Bush's talk of the N.W.O. has symbolic, cautionary force now that he and the coalition have given such a flawless demonstration of what can happen when the sheriff and posse get organized. The image of America abroad has changed dramatically because of the gulf war. Before the war, much of the world saw America as a fading power, riddled with self-doubt

and persistent social problems, gradually being overshadowed by the might of Japan and Germany. Nowhere does condescension toward Americans achieve the exquisite and insufferable effects that it accomplishes in France. In the mid-1960s, some Frenchmen wondered if the Americans would ever make it to the moon if they insisted on calculating distances in feet and inches. Americans were considered "les grands enfants," powerful but childish. Not long ago, a University of Tours sociologist named Jean-Pierre Sergent argued that Americans would not go to war in the Persian Gulf because they cannot face reality, only simulated versions of it. Now, after the battle, a writer named Jean d'Ormesson allows that Bush, an apparent "simpleton... has revealed himself, to almost universal surprise, to be a steadfast head of state... He has restored America to the first rank of nations."

But America's status in the world is smudged and complicated by the realities of its long, slow rot at home.

Some analysts have compared the postwar situation in 1991 with the aftermath of World War I in 1919, with the punitive peace that eventually led to the rise of Hitler and Nazism. The situation of America in 1991 might be compared in some ways with that of Britain in 1945, after World War II. The Second World War was a "good war" for British scientists and engineers, and at its end, everyone expected them to usher in a new age of prosperity. But Britain's R. and D. capabilities were never sufficiently transferred to private industry. Because the British government was determined to remain a great power, it skewed re-

Do you think the U.S. should be playing the role of world policeman, fighting aggression wherever it occurs?

YES 21%

NO 75%

Does the American performance in the war give you more or less confidence in the following:

	More confidence	Less confidence
The U.S. military	93%	3%
The American presidency	86%	8%
The Republican Party	65%	16%
The U.S. media	54%	34%
The Democratic Party	41%	34%

search and development toward defense. Said Sir Henry Tizard, the father of radar and the government's chief science adviser between 1946 and 1952: "We are a great nation, but if we continue to behave like a great power, we shall soon cease to be a great nation." Britain, like the U.S. now, suffered from a profound neglect of its educational system. It was what one scientist called "an invisible crisis. Nothing dramatic is going to happen for years... Then

we shall wake up and find, like the Venetians in the 17th century, that all that makes our living has slipped away."

"Today the world! Tomorrow America!" goes the rueful joke. George Bush seems likely to confine himself to the first half of that formula, at least until after the 1992 election.

In his speech to Congress last week, Bush suggested that with the war ended Americans "must bring that same sense of self-discipline, that same sense of urgency, to the way we meet challenges here at home." A new cliché sprang up, a variation on the '60s line "If we can send a man to the moon, surely we can..." The new version holds that the American talents demonstrated in the gulf war should be applied to the nation's social problems. In Boston a youth-corps director named Michael Brown said optimistically, "We set our mind to something, and we did it. We marshaled resources; we had a strategy."

On local radio call-in shows, Brown hears people proposing that General Schwarzkopf organize an assault on homelessness. "You can almost picture it," says Brown. "Schwarzkopf stands next to a big chart and says, 'Here are the issues keeping people homeless, and here is what we are going to do.'"

Neither political nor economic realities give hope that the nation's social problems—homelessness, health care, crime, drugs, a decline in industrial competitiveness, and so on—are going to be conquered soon, or even seriously addressed. At least not by government. The nation has the money but not the political will. Bush's basic approach will be to stand pat for the next 20 months, for the most part giving only lip service to domestic issues rather than risking his now enormous prestige in legislative battles that he might lose. Bush's political advisers calculate that the Democrats will pursue the "Churchill analogy"—arguing that Bush and his party, like Churchill and his, served stoutly as wartime leaders but are not suited to the quite different challenges of leadership at home. Churchill, of course, was unceremoniously dumped as Prime Minister after the war in 1945.

The Republicans plan to counter with the Thatcher analogy—the thought that



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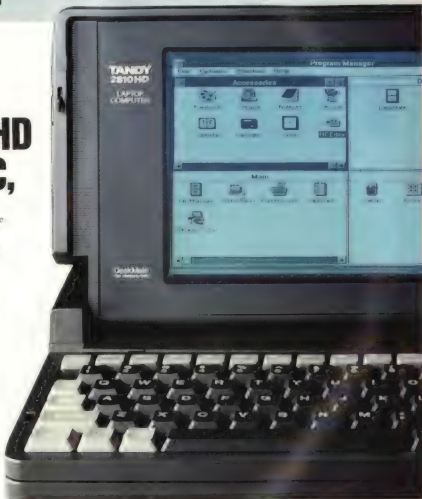
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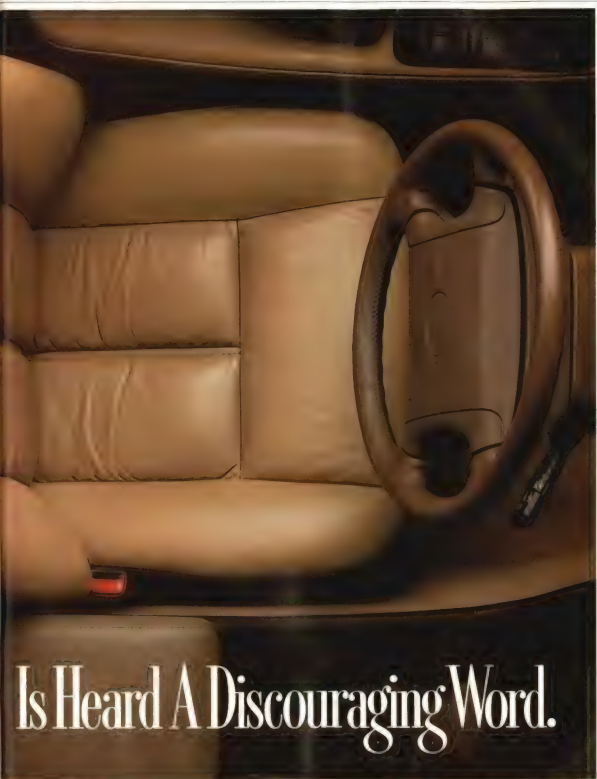


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Nation

Bush, like Margaret Thatcher, will translate victory in war to greater political strength at home. Bush and his handlers figure that the Democrats, leaderless and badly divided, will not be able to agree on a positive domestic program of their own and will be reduced to criticizing the Republicans. At a time when most of the country is optimistic and appreciates Bush's leadership, the Republicans will try to present the Democrats as part of the old depressive crew: negative, carping, whining, pessimistic, unconfident, unpatriotic.

Having patched together a minimalist domestic "agenda," Bush will keep the focus on foreign policy. The postgame show in the gulf, possibly including intensive diplomacy among the Arab states, Israel and the Palestinians, will occupy the President and the nation's attention for months to come. So will diplomacy with the splintering Soviet Union and Bush's efforts to improve trade relations with Japan, Europe and Mexico.

Bush in fact has few domestic convictions. His agenda has been shaped almost entirely for partisan political pur-



... and folded in grief

poses. His crime package, for example, is intended to portray Democrats as soft on thugs.

It should not be a foregone conclusion that George Bush will be re-elected. These are times that prove Proudhon's formulation: "The fecundity of the unexpected far exceeds the statesman's prudence." Americans should enjoy the moment of victory for just that long, a moment, and after that, look beyond the

war and consider that their country cannot for very long assert its authority, moral or military, unless it can bring its realities at home into closer alignment with its persona in the world.

Standing before Congress in his triumph, George Bush would not have thought of the line that General George Patton (the real Patton's words, spoken by George C. Scott) uttered at the end of the movie, after Patton's dazzling tank dash across Belgium and Germany to defeat Hitler's armies in 1945: "For over a thousand years, Roman conquerors returning from the wars enjoyed the honor of a triumph, a tumultuous parade ... The conqueror rode in a triumphal chariot ... A slave stood behind the conqueror holding a golden crown and glory is fleeting." One imagines that if there had been a voice whispering in Bush's ear, it would have sounded like Richard Nixon's—confiding, sepulchral, full of its dark shrewdness. —*Reported by Dan Goodjans and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington and William Mader/London*



His grandmother watches as Army Specialist 4 Kenneth James Perry, killed in action in Kuwait, is laid to rest in Loris, S.C.

But when the wondrous moment passes, can the U.S. align its realities at home with its new role in the world?

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Brains and brawn: Schwarzkopf and the Saudi commander, General Khalid bin Sultan al-Saud, at cease-fire talks on the Kuwait-Iraq border

Revolution at Defense

After absorbing the hard lessons of Vietnam, the Pentagon revised its strategy, modernized its methods and turned itself into an awesome juggernaut

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**



Even more than military victories, defeats teach important lessons. After its long and bitter experience in Vietnam, the U.S. had a lot of them to learn.

American commanders had too often proved unimaginative and bureaucratic, their troops uninspired and all too frequently undisciplined. After the fall of Saigon, still more fiascoes fairly shouted of Pentagon ineptitude. An attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran broke down in the desert in 1980. In 1983 a terrorist's truck bomb killed 241 American servicemen, forcing the U.S. to beat an embarrassing retreat from its peacekeeping role in Lebanon.

But even as those disasters and a pleth-

ora of defense-procurement scandals were feeding a lack of trust and respect for the military, the Pentagon was not only absorbing lessons but also beginning to repair itself. The armed forces have undergone a quiet revolution. An entirely new defense establishment has been created, its ranks filled by volunteers, its methods, training and strategy thoroughly modernized.

The payoff has been an Air Force that downed 40 Iraqi planes in air-to-air combat without a loss and an Army that destroyed or captured 3,700 tanks while losing only three. On television from the gulf, America saw articulate, thoughtful soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines glowing with obvious integrity and dedication.

This turnaround was the result of deep soul-searching. "After Vietnam," says Lieut. General Calvin Waller, deputy com-

mander in chief of Central Command in Saudi Arabia, "most of the military men who decided to stay soldiers said to themselves, 'We have to do something different.'" The first priority was to get rid of the draft and create an all-volunteer force. By excluding from its ranks those who did not want to serve, the military hoped to get rid of troublemakers and incompetents. This strategy seems to have worked. Says Lieut. General John J. Yeosock, commander of the Army units in the gulf: "I have fewer disciplinary problems commanding a third of a million troops now than I did in 1973 commanding 1,000 men."

Congress provided the funds to make military salaries more attractive (a new enlistee earns \$669 a month, vs. \$217 in the Vietnam era) and to improve housing, benefits and training. The services set

higher admission standards; the percentage of recruits with high school diplomas is now more than 96%, in contrast to 65% in 1973. Revamped procedures for evaluating officers and enlisted men have been put into place and rigidly enforced. Soldiers who do not quickly adjust to military life or perform well enough to earn promotions within five years are washed out of the services. Says Waller: "If you don't perform at a certain level, we don't want you."

At the same time, the armed forces reformed the way they develop and promote leaders. For many years, says retired Admiral Stansfield Turner, a former CIA director, "we didn't really teach military strategy and doctrine." During his tenure at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I., in the mid-1970s, Turner forced classes of promising officers to read 1,000 pages of military history each week. A similar emphasis is enforced at the National Defense University in Washington, the Pentagon's most senior training school. The idea, says the war college's director, Vice Admiral John Baldwin, is to "think strategically and think jointly"—that is, to coordinate wartime campaigns involving all the armed services.

The Marine Corps commandant, General Alfred Gray, even produced a reading list for his Leathernecks: corporals, he suggested, should read the U.S. Constitution; sergeants could sample Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*; and colonels might study *How We Won the War* by Vietnamese Vo Nguyen Giap. Says Washington-based military consultant Steven Canby: "Imagine, the American military used to be the antithesis of intellectualism. Now they read Mahan and Clausewitz," the classic strategists of sea and land warfare.

Such higher standards of scholarship inside the military were reflected in a study of 163 new brigadier generals by the Center for Creative Leadership in Greensboro, N.C. It found the officers had IQs in the 92nd percentile of the population, a ranking above that of corporate executives with comparable responsibilities. A follow-up on colonels and lieutenant colonels found that 80% had advanced university degrees, in contrast to only 20% of executives.

Among the many failures in Vietnam was a military doctrine that emphasized positional warfare and overwhelming firepower to defeat an enemy through attrition—a lineal descendant of the methods of General Ulysses S. Grant during the Civil War. Work on a new strategy called the AirLand Battle, which General H. Norman Schwarzkopf used so effectively against Iraq, helped change all that. AirLand relies on mobility and maneuver,

speed and deception. It combines the fighting power of land and air forces into one centrally directed whole.

The new doctrine was matched by improved methods of training. The armed forces now have elaborate—and expensive—practice facilities like the army's 640,000-acre Fort Irwin in the California desert. Troops in battalion-size units stage extraordinarily realistic mock battles against "Red" forces highly skilled at mimicking enemy tactics.

These rehearsals worked so well that by the time American troops went into action in the gulf, many of them felt as if they had been through it all before. "Killing an enemy tank is something of a letdown," says Sergeant Tom Cavanaugh of the 2nd Armored Division's Tiger Brigade. "I got two kills, and it was just like we trained for."

Does the triumph of Operation Desert Storm mean the U.S. could duplicate it at other times and places? Not necessarily. Although the gulf is 7,000 miles from America's East Coast ports, no enemy ships, submarines or planes presented a challenge to Navy and cargo vessels as they steamed to the area. Saudi Arabia possesses some of the biggest ports and air bases in the world, and the U.S. moved into them unopposed.

None of that would have been true if the enemy had been the Soviet Union, the foe the Pentagon had in mind when it built its arsenal and doctrine. In that case the fleets would have been attacked by submarines, and huge battles for air superiority would have raged in the sky over the battlefield. And if some future battle had to be fought in the jungles of, say, the Philippines or Peru, it would have nothing like the operational clarity of last month's war in the desert.

One of the most effective tools the Pentagon used to remake the U.S. armed forces was huge amounts of money. Since

the final year of the Carter Administration, when many of the largest weapons programs began, through the years of the Reagan buildup, the nation invested \$2.4 trillion in the Defense Department. Some of this largesse was wisely used on well-paid soldiers and well-made weapons. Plenty was not: a report to Congress last week indicated the three-year-old fleet of B-1B bombers, which were unable to take part in the gulf war because their engines and electronics are so unreliable, will have to be overhauled at a cost of \$1 billion.

Just before Operation Desert Storm began, the cold war formally ended and the Pentagon was about to take some cuts. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney plans to trim the Army 31% over the next five years, the Navy 13%, the Air Force 28% and the Marines 14%. Taken together, those projected reductions will lop off 500,000 men and women—or about the size of the force in the gulf—from the 2.1 million now in uniform.

A counterattack by the services is taking shape in Washington. They have sounded out congressional support for a slowdown in the scheduled cuts. Senator Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, says he is willing to reconsider the five-year plan. General Carl Vuono, the Army Chief of Staff, recommends a slowing of force reductions in light of the gulf war and uncertainty over the stability of the Soviet Union.

Similar offensives by the supporters of multibillion-dollar programs like the Stealth bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative are getting under way. Everyone with a favorite weapons program, whether a member of Congress or a general, points to the gulf war as justification. Last week, for example, Democratic and Republican representatives from New York and Pennsylvania joined forces to order continued production of the F-14 Tomcat, a carrier-based interceptor Cheney says the Navy has in sufficient quantity. Price tag for the congressionally ordered continuation: \$987 million.

Cautious evaluation of military plans is always a good idea, but pressure to increase spending may get out of hand. At the very least, it would make it more difficult to reduce a budget deficit swollen by the huge effort in the gulf—even if only marginally, thanks to the allies' contributions. The coming scramble for defense dollars is an ominous sign that many in Washington are ready to learn the wrong lessons from victory.

—Reported by
Bruce van Voorst/Washington and
Robert T. Zintl/Riyadh



Smart soldiers, smart weapons: an Army pilot and Apache helicopter

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And While You Were Gone . . .



DEAR SOLDIER. It used to be that when you went to war, you stayed away for years, and life went on, and you were left behind. This war thumped loudly past, and is over. But we were moving quickly too, even if no one really noticed, since all the cameras and conversations were pointed in your direction. Consider this a scrapbook of the moments we both missed.

We made some discoveries. Scientists managed to produce a perfect copy of the muscular dystrophy gene in mice. A study by the American Bar Association found that white males get the best car deals. Some biblical scholars concluded that Jesus never said about 80% of the things the New Testament says he said. A retired Wisconsin couple learned that the oil painting that had hung in their living room for 30 years was a Van Gogh. And it turns out that if you run about a mile and a half every day, you get fewer head colds.

Democracy skipped and stumbled and blustered along its puzzling way. Nobody in Washington could think or talk of anything except the war, but the states pursued their own parochial obsessions. Tennessee lawmakers banned the release of more than 24 nonbiodegradable balloons by any one person, in order to keep bits of rubber from choking the fish. Ten state senators in Washington proposed that the eastern part of Washington be allowed to secede and form a new state called Lincoln. "Lincoln was a great emancipator," said one of them, "and we want emancipation from Seattle." The Colorado House decided that you could be sued for making derogatory comments about foods.

The war didn't cause the recession, but it took most of the blame. Thirty states are deep in debt and considering everything from taxing incomes to taxing pretzels. Eastern Airlines, Continental and Pan Am all filed for Chapter 11. In January alone, 232,000 workers lost their jobs. In Minnesota the Teacher of the Year for 1990 was laid off.

Stamps now cost 29c.

While your Patriots were knocking Scuds out of the sky, we found some new toys of our own. Sanyo has a voice-operated car-stereo system that will swap CDs or summon a radio traffic report on command. Sharp has a new microwave with a built-in blender that will mash potatoes while they cook. Fidelity Electronics came out with a wristwatch that doubles as a biological clock by telling you the best time of the month to get pregnant. It sells for \$59.95.

The patent office ruled that a smell, like a name or symbol, can be trademarked, which came as a relief to the makers of a scented embroidery kit in the shape of a skunk.

War abroad did not make us any more peaceful at home. A man in New York City was acquitted after he cut up his

girlfriend for throwing him out of her apartment and served her stewed finger to the homeless in Tompkins Square Park. The jury decided he must have been crazy. Police in Florida hunted down a roadside serial killer—a 34-year-old blond who had signed a movie deal for her story before the charges were even brought. Westchester County, N.Y., is hosting the "Fatal Attraction" trial, in which a besotted schoolteacher is charged with murdering her lover's wife, and having a tryst with him in a parking lot afterward.

The folks at CNN became part of the family. But every now and then we needed some relief, something sweet and harmless. *Bambi* was the year's best-selling video, and the crowds at Disney World fell off only slightly. The biggest star of the season was a 10-year-old kid you never heard of, whose movie, *Home Alone*, made studio heads cry—especially the ones who turned down the script. Gary died on *thirty-something*, but Nancy survived her cancer, and Bart Simpson passed all his courses.

Vanna White got married, and so did Tom Cruise, Meg Ryan and Dennis Quaid (those last two to each other). Jane Fonda and Ted Turner are engaged. Danny Thomas and Margot Fonteyn died. James Brown was paroled.

Oprah, who was fat when you met her and thinner when you left, is fat once more, and swears that she will never diet again. Donald Trump used to be rich, but his emirate is currently under siege by creditors.

McDonald's now serves packets of raw carrot sticks.

We still read the sports pages, but we tried to avoid war imagery to describe third-down situations. Roger Clem-

ens became the first \$5 million baseball player, and Pete Rose was barred from the Hall of Fame. George Foreman will soon be fighting for the heavyweight championship, and Sugar Ray Leonard has retired. We think he means it this time.

We may have buried the Vietnam-era mentality, but we have resurrected its style: beehive hairdos are back, and Day-Glo minis, and beads. It is now possible to spend \$60 on a necktie that displays the contents of a man's medicine chest or a collage of bus transfers.

You will find signs that you're returning to a different country than the one you left in August: proud, resolute, united and overwhelmed with national purpose. You will be lavished with honors, medals and ribbons, streets named after you, Desert Storm ice cream flavors. You who wrote to us of your fears of coming home should not worry. No one will spit on you. You will not be called baby killers, and we promise that you will not grow old holding a sign in a subway station: I'M A VETERAN. CAN YOU SPARE SOME CHANGE?

There's much more, and you have some amazing stories to tell. Put your feet up. We have all the time in the world.

Welcome home.

NANCY GIBBS and PRISCILLA PAINTON



PHOTO BY GUY AROZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

● KUWAIT

Chaos and Revenge

By MICHAEL KRAMER KUWAIT CITY



Kuwait is burning—physically, politically and spiritually. Kuwait City, where 80% of the prewar population of 2 million lived, is a sad, lonely town. The skyscrapers are abandoned, their ground-level shops have been looted, and nearly everything is covered with an oily soot, a reminder of the ongoing conflagration outside the capital—the hundreds of oil-well fires depleting the nation's lifeblood at a rate far greater than anyone had predicted.

Wherever one travels, nerves are raw, tensions deep. Many of those who remained while Iraq pilaged and raped their land resent those who fled, and sizable numbers in both camps want nothing less than the wholesale expulsion of Kuwait's Palestinians, despite evidence that most opposed Saddam's perfidy.

If one complaint binds all, it is rage at Kuwait's government, which had months to plan for the nation's recovery but has so far performed incompetently. Many who had been effectively shut out of the nation's political life organized themselves admirably to survive Iraq's occupation; understandably, they now want a say in public affairs. Across all groups and all issues, the question since Kuwait has been freed is simple: Freed for what?



At 3:30 in the morning on Sunday, March 3, in the shadow of Kuwait City's Maryam Mosque, a Kuwaiti resistance member who calls himself Mike leaned his French-made automatic rifle into the chest of his childhood friend Mustafa al-Kubaisi. He whispered, "This is your last night," and fired. Unsatisfied by the effect of the single shot, Mike used his 7.65-mm MAB pistol to put another round into Mustafa's head.



Mustafa al-Kubaisi, who was 29, was born in Kuwait to Iraqi parents. He worked as an overseas telephone operator and enjoyed the cradle-to-grave benefits of Kuwait's welfare state, but he could never be sure of his status. Because of his parents' Iraqi origins, and despite his having been born in Kuwait, he had to have a work permit to remain in the country. Naturalization, common throughout the world, is virtually impossible in Kuwait.

Mike, 33, is the son of wealthy Ku-

waitis. He graduated from San Francisco State University and trained to be an airline pilot, but he quit to manage his family's real estate empire. Mike's house is within shouting distance of Mustafa's, and he recalls being something of a "big brother" to Mustafa. Mike advised him about work and girls and gave Mustafa rides in his Ferrari. He also supplemented Mustafa's salary. "Nothing big," says Mike, "but on a fairly regular basis."

When Iraq invaded Kuwait, Mike lay

Digging a grave for a casualty of the occupation: many were torture victims

low. But then another childhood friend, a woman named Esrar al-Ghabandi, was killed. Unlike Mike, Esrar had joined the resistance immediately. After Esrar had made four trips to Saudi Arabia to deliver information about Iraqi troop movements in Kuwait, Mike and some friends discovered her mutilated body. Esrar had been axed in the head and shot seven times in

World



her breasts and vagina. Within days, Mike and his friends formed their own resistance cell, which operated apart from the more organized efforts of other Kuwaitis. They met frequently to plan strategy, and Mustafa was usually present. "Why not?" says Mike. "We had known each other all our lives. I didn't think we had any secrets."

But Mustafa had one. As he once confessed to another neighbor, Mustafa had always resented his uncertain status. Whether he also was a longtime spy for Iraq's secret police, as Mike believes, is debatable. What Mike and several other resistance members know for certain is that Kuwaiti army officers operating with Mike's cell began to disappear whenever Mustafa took part in the group's deliberations. "So we began watching his movements," says Mike. "He was informing. There was no doubt."

When the resistance was certain Mustafa was aiding the Iraqis, Mike invited him to stay at his home. "That way I could better keep an eye on him," says Mike. "I used him to help me get through checkpoints and to move some weapons around. It was minor stuff, and it bound us more closely together. We kept the important things from him, of course, but I am sure he

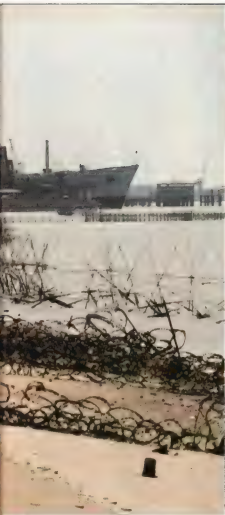
thought he was continuing to penetrate us." Shortly after the liberation, Mustafa was arrested by the Kuwaiti intelligence service and removed to the local jail. "But he was mine," says Mike. "and one night I prevailed on the guards to turn him over to me. I wanted to kill him myself. I cooked him a last meal and told him I was going to turn him in as a POW. I told him he would be traded for allied prisoners. I told him to get his things, and we walked to a wall about a hundred yards from my house, which is where I did it. And that was it. I have no regrets. He was also helping to run Palestinians who informed on Kuwaitis. How could I let him go?"

When the allies first rode into Kuwait City, on Feb. 26, they were led by Arab forces, though not by Kuwaitis. Earlier in the campaign, a Kuwaiti soldier killed a surrendering Iraqi and shoved his body into a ditch. "From that moment," says a U.S. military officer, "we were determined to restrain the Kuwaitis," and American special-forces troops now regularly accompany Kuwaiti patrols. But the resistance still operates. Mike says he knows of at least 80 "proven collaborators" who have been executed. "The word has gone out to

be calm for now," says a resistance leader, "to cool it until the journalists leave."

"That's right," confirms a senior Western diplomat. "The government is operating with a light hand. The country is an arsenal. Everyone has weapons. They turn some in, to be perceived as cooperating with the call to lay down arms, but everyone is keeping some—just as they are keeping the names of some collaborators to themselves when turning over their lists to the army." The problem, another Western diplomat says, is the government's poor credibility. "No one really knows if cracking down on the resistance would work, or whether they'd tell the ministers to shove it," he says. "All the government knows for sure is that at the end of the day, it doesn't want Kuwait perceived as no better than Saddam. We hope that the idea of sanctioning an open season later on won't really come to pass. We're counting on the passage of time to calm emotions."

Kuwait is a tense nation at a tough time, "a place in need of therapy," says Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Awadi, a physician who long served as his country's Health Minister and is now Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs. Everyone has witnessed an atrocity or has a tale to tell. Al-Awadi turns pale



Kuwait City's beach front remains off limits because of the fortifications and mines left by the Iraqis, whose maps of the planted explosives are useless; the remains of a grocery store stand in testament to the destruction of a country that bloomed with prosperity seven months ago

Iraqi looters to spot unoccupied houses. When the Iraqis visited inhabited homes, it was mostly to make their presence felt. "We left things around, watches and some jewelry," says Tariq al-Riaz. "That usually satisfied them, and their searches were perfunctory. When we did need to hide, we did so in rooms we created behind walls."

The hardest thing to do was to teach Kuwait's children to "like" Saddam, says Salah al-Awadi, manager of credit-card sales for the Gulf Bank. "When Iraqis visited us, we would serve them soft drinks. Once, my son Youssef, who is almost four, said, 'Take this glass and put it on Saddam's head.' We had to teach the kids to say good things about Saddam for fear they would be killed if they didn't."

People move more freely now, of course, but a favorite pastime, a walk on the beach, is impossible. The seaside fortifications built by the Iraqis—four separate lines of trenches and obstacles—"look like Normandy from the air," says a U.S. Army general. Mines are everywhere, and the

minefield maps Baghdad provided the coalition are "useless," says U.S. Ambassador Edward Gnehm. The city is rocked by explosions several times a day as U.S. Army experts detonate Iraq's abandoned ordnance. Sporadic gunfire is heard throughout the day—celebratory rounds discharged mainly by Saudi soldiers. (It is the Americans, however, who are in demand for pictures and autographs.)

Expatriates—Palestinians particularly—are subjected to time-consuming searches. In the Hawalli area, where many Palestinians live, Kuwaiti troops roam the streets, instructing the population, "Turn in your weapons, Palestinian people. This is for your own security." The latest graffiti reads, DEATH TO PALESTINIAN TRAITORS. WE DON'T WANT THEM. "They are hypocrites!" screams Massmoa Hassan, a Kuwaiti woman passing by. "We went to school with you. We helped you. The P.L.O. donation boxes were filled by us. And you are traitors. Get out!"

Hawalli residents tell of suspected collaborators being taken roughly away. Sarah Hamdan Salman says her three sons were blindfolded, handcuffed, beaten with machine guns and shoved into the trunks of cars by civilians who the Palestinians are convinced are resistance members. When she went to the local precinct to inquire about her children, she was told, "You're a Palestinian"—and then she was spat upon. Did it happen? "I don't doubt it," says a U.S. Army major assigned as an adviser to the Kuwaitis. "All I can say is that we're trying to hold it down."

All residents, even Kuwaitis, are subjected to the three-month martial law decree and its 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. curfew. "It's not fake," says Colonel Jesse Johnson, the commander of U.S. special-operations forces in Kuwait City. There have been

when he recalls the story of an Iraqi patrol that spotted some Kuwaiti children playing in the street. "They were told to stop, and all but one did," says al-Awadi. "That one was picked up by the hair by an Iraqi soldier—he was still holding his soccer ball—and shot in the head in front of the other kids." Some of Mike's friends had to cut down seven young Kuwaiti girls who had been hanged in a schoolyard after having been raped. There are several hundred women awaiting abortions, says a doctor at Mubarak al-Kabir Hospital. All were victims of gang rape.

Even when Kuwaitis try to forget the tragedies, they cannot escape reminders of the occupation. The sky is what everyone notices first each morning. When the wind blows toward Kuwait City, the sky darkens as if a storm were moving across the plain. At times, night appears at noon. The oil fires are that horrendous. There is no electricity, the result of last-minute Iraqi sabotage. Few believe the repeated assurances that at least some electricity will return "tomorrow." Too many tomorrows have passed.

Water and power were operating until shortly before the Iraqis withdrew, apparently to pacify the population and permit



Resistance fighter Mike

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several nighttime incidents "where people drive up to the checkpoints and open fire" on the Kuwaiti soldiers, says Johnson. The troops assume their attackers are Palestinians. The clash between those who remained and those who left is everywhere. Some Kuwaitis who stayed behind surrendered their automobile license plates for Iraqi tags. At a checkpoint last week, a Kuwaiti without plates was harassed. "So you changed your plates," shouted a Kuwaiti soldier. "And you fled, you coward," the driver yelled back.

Some Kuwaitis have taken to visiting the house where the Iraqis constructed an elaborate torture chamber. Electric-shock devices are the most prominent features, and pinups of scantily clad women adorn the walls. The government is thinking of turning the place into a museum. "We should preserve this so we remember," says Minister of State al-Awadi, whose indoor swimming pool the Iraqis used to extract information. Victims would be dunked into the water while they were tied to ropes hung from the ceiling. A poignant scene plays out almost

daily when Kuwaitis visit the Riqqa cemetery, searching for the remains of loved ones. Kuwaiti authorities say 2,792 bodies of people who died unnatural deaths since Aug. 2 are buried there. Another site of interest is the ice rink, which served as a makeshift morgue for Kuwaiti dead. There are no bodies there now—only some dried blood and a persistent stench.

Ambitious travelers journey about 30 miles toward Basra to see the remains of a convoy of fleeing Iraqi vehicles destroyed by allied aircraft. At the Iraqi border last week, tragedy was replaced by joy. Several thousand Kuwaitis were kidnapped by Iraqi soldiers in the last days of the occupation; last Friday Baghdad suddenly released about 1,175, transporting them back to Kuwait City in trucks bearing the seal of the Republican Guard. Most had been held at a military barrack near Basra, squeezed in so tight that they were forced to take turns sleeping. For the first three days, they were given no food or water. From then on, they subsisted on a single rock-hard roll a day.

Those who show up at the border are usually a bedraggled lot. At night they look like ghostly figures, small hands of refugees suddenly illuminated by the headlights of military convoys. Mostly they are expatriates or foreigners who lived in Iraq and are fleeing the anti-Saddam violence. Thousands of Egyptians, for example, are being deported. Mohammed el-Habal, 65, is one of about a dozen Egyptians who camped near the border last week, waiting for his status to be determined. "The Republican Guard told us that if Egypt had stayed with Iraq, if we had supported Iraq, we would not have been turned out," says el-Habal, who reports that some of his compatriots have been murdered by Iraqis.

The plight of Iraqis who lived in Kuwait before the war and who are now trying to return to Kuwait is even more desperate. Men, women and children are encamped near the border highway. U.S. soldiers have given them rations, but they have no water. On a cold, rainy night last week, the Iraqis huddled around campfires. The ho-

Death Highway, Revisited



Remains of Iraqi vehicles wrecked by air attack while fleeing toward Basra

The pictures were among the most stunning to come out of the gulf war: mile after mile of burned, smashed, shattered vehicles of every description—tanks, armored cars, trucks, autos, even stolen Kuwaiti fire trucks—littering the highway from Kuwait City to Basra. To some Americans, the pictures were also sickening. Weren't the Iraqis in those vehicles pulling out of Kuwait, exactly as the U.S. wanted them to? Did the American planes that wreaked this carnage really have to keep up the bloody assaults on an already beaten foe?

Absolutely, say American officers. The aim of the U.S.-led coalition at that point was not just to push Saddam Hussein's army out of Kuwait but also to destroy the offensive capability that had made it a regional menace. A great deal of that offen-

sive capability consisted of vehicles on the road to Basra. The Iraqis driving them in many cases were members of Saddam's Republican Guard who at least initially were conducting an orderly fighting retreat. The allies were determined to give them no breathing space to pull themselves together to make a stand—or to regroup for an assault on the American Army, which had cut them off to the north and stood between them and Basra; the Iraqi armor was heading away from one battle but toward another. In any case, many a general has bitterly rued the day he let a beaten enemy army get away to turn around and fight again.

True enough, the tanks and armored cars got tangled up with civilian vehicles. These mostly were driven by Iraqi soldiers bugging out from

Kuwait City, carrying along staggering loads of loot and Kuwaiti civilians apparently to be used as hostages; the troopers unwittingly drove smack into a bigger battle than the one they were fleeing. After the war, correspondents did find some cars and trucks with burned bodies, but also many vehicles that had been abandoned. Their occupants had fled on foot, and the American planes often did not fire at them. That some Kuwaiti civilians who had been kidnapped by the fleeing Iraqis probably also perished on what became the highway of death is a true tragedy. Which proves once more that even in an era of precision weapons, war is hell; it can be civilized to some extent by rules of conduct, but the most humane thing to do is to end it as quickly as possible. ■



The Prime Minister: Mr. Noncommitment Eggs for sale at outrageous prices: the system for supplying basic goods has failed badly

rizon was lit by the flames of the burning oil fields. In her tattooed hands, Fadiyah Saad held her new granddaughter, born by the roadside on March 5. The family was debating whether to name the child Hudud (borders) or Istiqlal (independence).

With Kuwait independent again, some of those who stayed behind yearn for aspects of the occupation. Supplies were more plentiful then, and those who had previously felt themselves to be mere employees of a business called Kuwait Inc. banded together as a nation. "For the first time," says Ali Salem, a resistance leader, "all barriers were breached, Shi'ite Muslims, who have long been discriminated against by the Sunni majority, were major players, perhaps even the most significant. We were, at least for that time, truly one."

There were approximately 60 resistance groups operating at any given time, each with 40 to 50 members. The head of each cell knew his opposite number in other units, but his subordinates did not know one another. Elaborate codes were developed to fool eavesdropping Iraqis. Young girls carried bullets in their underwear. Fake identifications were common. A sophisticated printing operation was hidden a block from the headquarters of Iraq's secret police.

In addition to the organized resistance, many Kuwaitis operated on their own. Since Iraqi soldiers examining cars at checkpoints frequently stole whatever was in sight, some Kuwaitis added rat poison to bottles of orange juice and then hid them in the trunk. Iraqi sentries would discover and seize the bottles—and presumably drink the tainted liquid later.

Salem presided over a network that dis-

tributed nearly \$100 million, smuggled into Kuwait from the exiled government in Taif, Saudi Arabia. "We used the money for bribes to get people out of jail, to pass checkpoints, to buy fruits and vegetables brought from Iraq," says Salem. "This is the Middle East, and money talked even more here because the Iraqis are so poor."

Kuwait's leaders can be blamed for much of the current chaos. Like all governments, Kuwait's is sometimes savvy, sometimes incompetent. But at the top, and with a few notable exceptions, Kuwait's Cabinet is decidedly mediocre—an opinion shared by most Kuwaitis. The government's primary mission for seven months has been to plan its return. The ministers began well by removing themselves from direct responsibility. A reconstruction plan was concocted in Washington by Fawzi al-Sultan, an executive director of the World Bank, who assembled a team of international experts.

But as the war of liberation neared, the ministers in Taif became jealous of an organization that threatened to supplant them. In short order, al-Sultan's team was torpedoed. Each ministry recaptured control of its own work, coordination evaporated, and the resistance movement, which knew what was needed and how to accomplish it, was effectively shut out.

The results of mismanagement are everywhere. Supplies of essential foodstuffs, supposedly stockpiled and ready to go in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, were delayed at the border because Kuwait's Interior Ministry had failed to provide proper documentation. Some of the stocks spoiled. When a shipment finally arrived in Kuwait City late last week, five days behind schedule, the Commerce Ministry's distribution

plan had to be scrapped because it could not do the job quickly. Some of the needed food was distributed by U.S. Ambassador Ginehm. "He had the media with him," says a Kuwaiti minister admiringly. "He wanted to embarrass us into moving faster, and it worked." But the shipments still lag. "Quite literally," says Ali Salem, "we had more in the stores when Saddam controlled Kuwait."

The oil industry, Kuwait's backbone, is in even worse shape. Rashid al-Amiri, the Oil Minister, is roundly denounced by his colleagues. A committee of other ministers was appointed last Thursday to "assist" him. "What is unforgivable," says one of al-Amiri's associates, "is that he is in no small measure directly responsible for much of the havoc we face."

Some months ago, Kuwaiti operatives trained by Western intelligence agencies successfully sabotaged Iraq's plan to cripple Kuwait's oil-producing centers. The wires leading to explosive charges buried in the sand were snipped and reburied. Al-Amiri was so delighted that he bragged about it in an interview he gave to an Arab newspaper. Whether the Iraqis would have checked the wires in any event may never be known, but Kuwait says it is now losing \$ million bbl, a day from the 600-odd wells ablaze.

Complaints about specific ministers from other ministers and the public at large prompted the entire Cabinet to consider resigning at a late-night meeting last Thursday. But the Prime Minister urged them all to work harder instead. "We'll see where things stand in three or four weeks," an aide reports Sheikh Saad as saying. Says a Western diplomat: "Considering the public's anger, and all the weapons available,



Captured Iraqi arms and some of their former owners, guarded by American soldiers, near the Kuwait-Iraq border; in an abandoned house in the Kuwaiti capital, the country's military police interrogate a man identified as an Iraqi army major

they're lucky they don't have a new regime by now."

What is really on the government's mind these days, and on everyone else's as well (which is why the government is consumed by it), is the matter of democracy. The Prime Minister, a poet of noncommitment who usually deflects direct inquiries by saying, "That will be discussed," is promising elections for a new parliament. The opposition wants a return to the dissolved 1986 parliament. But that is the same assembly that refused to expand suffrage to include women and "second grade" Kuwaitis—people who cannot trace their ancestry in Kuwait earlier than 1920.

Many Kuwaitis, including those who served in the resistance, believe that voting rights must be expanded. In addition, says Hamad al-Towgari, 34, a San Jose State University graduate who owns the Kuwait

Plaza Hotel, the "real issue is what powers any parliament has. We want to be modern. We want something closer to a constitutional monarchy, something closer to the British system." Says Ali Salem, a member of the ruling al-Sabah family: "The oligarchy must give way."

The person who perhaps best expresses the pervasive disgust is Laila al-Qadhi, a Kuwait University English professor. Few say on the record what al-Qadhi says, but many agree with her. "At best," says al-Qadhi, "we have a democracy tailored for a few. It can't be real, of course, until women and the children of expatriates who are born here are entitled to vote as full citizens. Certainly those who stayed and fought for Kuwait while the cowards fled deserve to participate in their government. But I am not optimistic. Many will collaborate to restore the old order because it is so comfortable for so many. The Sabahs are

smart. They have bought the loyalty of most with a system that makes all comfortably lazy. What has changed is that we who stayed no longer fear those who rule, and they fear us because we do not fear them. But if we don't change, then the answer to the question 'Is Kuwait worth dying for?' is no."

Among those in the government most disposed to change is Minister of State al-Awadi, an enlightened liberal. "It is not easy to establish a democracy in this part of the world," he says, "especially when other nations will be upset if we do. But it will come, all of it, including the right of women to vote. It will just take time." To which al-Qadhi answers simply, "Why should we have to wait?"

The biggest losers in Kuwait are its Palestinian residents, who numbered 400,000 before the invasion. About 180,000 stayed behind. The resistance estimates that 50,000 actually collaborated with the Iraqis. But even those who helped Kuwait resist the occupation are likely to suffer. "The Palestinians were invaluable," says al-Towgari. "They got us through checkpoints and got us fake identity papers saying we were foreigners. We know who the good ones are, and we want to tell the world about them. But they say no. They are scared of P.L.O. retribution. It is a vicious circle. Maybe when things calm down, people will realize how much we need the Palestinians just to get on here."

Maybe later, but not quite yet. Last Sunday at the Doha power plant, a Kuwaiti army lieutenant who had spent the past seven months in exile refused to allow six Palestinian workers to enter the facility. His orders, he said, came straight from the Defense Minister: no Palestinians. Arguing with the soldier was the plant's director, who patiently explained that the whole country was waiting for electricity and that it would never be restored until the Palestinians were admitted, because they were the people who knew how to do the work. Still the lieutenant was unmoved. Finally, and just by chance, Minister of State al-Awadi arrived. For a time, even he could not budge the soldier. He succeeded eventually, but as the Palestinians walked toward the plant, the soldier spit at them.

"The worst hatred toward the Palestinians is coming from those who left," says al-Awadi. "On the outside we heard about the atrocities and had to listen to Yasser Arafat's support of Saddam. Perhaps after people have come back and have a chance to assess the real situation, their attitudes will change." For the time being, the Palestinians who remained in Kuwait through the occupation will be allowed to stay, but even those who did not collaborate may never be trusted again. "For a time," says Major Mohammed Hamoud, a Kuwaiti air force Hawk missile battalion commander, "we let some Palestinians into the army, mostly the sons of longtime residents. I had



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God and Man in the Gulf

30 or so in my battalion, and they performed well on the first day of the invasion when we shot down 12 Iraqi planes and helicopters. But now, you can never be sure if they will turn, and so they must go."

One goal of Fawzi al-Sultan's disbanded reconstruction team has survived Kuwait's internal politics: the proposal to cut the country's preinvasion population of 2 million almost in half by shedding many of the country's non-Kuwaiti resident workers. "Demography is the key," al-Sultan says. "We want Kuwaitis to work, to have incentive, to be productive. We want a merit system in education and at work, without guaranteed government jobs. The way to make Kuwaitis not be lazy is to force them to fend for themselves. And the way to do that is to strip away the foreigners who do most of the hard work while Kuwaitis lie about."

The process has already begun. On March 2, the Gulf Bank ran an advertisement in the daily newspaper *Voice of Kuwait* seeking Kuwaitis to be trained as bank clerks in Dubai. "That's the start," says Salah al-Awadi, who works for the bank. "What will happen in my office is that we will gradually replace foreigners with Kuwaitis. I am sure that others will follow."

Last fall those Kuwaiti officials who would hazard a guess at the optimum size of the Palestinian population put the figure at 100,000. "Now surely we can achieve that," says one minister. "We can do it either by denying readmission to those who left and deporting some of those who stayed—or we can kick out some who stayed and replace them with some who left who we are fairly sure can be trusted."

As he drives through Kuwait City inspecting the damage inflicted by Iraq, Minister of State al-Awadi can barely contain his anger. "You see what they did to the museum, to the scientific center, to art in people's houses," he says. "I know it is said that the Iraqi soldiers were just following Saddam's orders, and I am sure they were. But living in a place like Iraq, with a regime like Saddam's, makes little Saddam of everyone, or brings out the Saddam in all of us. When you live in a society without principles, the rape of Kuwait is what you get. If there is a silver lining to all this, it is that we may now understand the value of having principles as we try to build a new, more democratic and merit-driven country. If people can understand that, Saddam will have done us a great good."

"I hope that will happen," adds al-Awadi as he notices the wind shift, "but I just don't know." The dark cloud is approaching rapidly, and perhaps in anticipation of its arrival, al-Awadi begins to cough the cough that many suffer whenever they are near where Kuwait burns.

—With reporting by Lara Marlowe/Kuwait City

A few days before the gulf war began in January, I was driving outside Jidda with a Saudi official who was telling me about what he called "the limits to political modernization" in the kingdom. I caught sight of a road sign to Mecca, only 31 miles away. Knowing that non-Muslims were forbidden to visit the holy city, I asked my companion whether he thought someday, when Saudi Arabia is more open to the outside world, the ban might be lifted.

"Never," he replied.

"Why?" I asked, somewhat taken aback.

"Because God says so."

He wasn't being rude or even expressing an opinion. He was simply stating the way things are and will always be. The subject was not ethics or what I think of as theology but the law of the land. I understood for the first time something I had often heard about Muslim culture: there is no division between mosque and state.



Off camera, he used to murder clerics

The conversation came back to me after the war. From George Bush on down, many in the West celebrated a victory not just of military strength but of political values. Democracy is the word most often used to summarize those values. But the institutions associated with democracy have never thrived in the Arab world, and the welcome outcome of the gulf war is not likely to change that.

In Iraq, even if Saddam Hussein is removed from office, his successors are likely to form a military dictatorship or a theocratic regime. Meanwhile, there were hints from Kuwait that the Emir, having been so slow to return home, is now in no hurry to re-establish a national assembly.

As for Saudi Arabia, the only country named after a family, its leaders show little inclination to share power. On my trip in January, I met with His Highness Prince Fahd bin Salman, a thirtysomething, U.S.-educated grandson of the founding King, Abdul Aziz, known as Ibn Saud. Fahd is vice governor of the Eastern province. I asked him whether he thought there would still be an absolute monarchy in the 21st century.

"Why not?" he shot back, with a distinct note of because-God-says-so finality. Then, remembering his audience, he added, "Of course, if we find a better system, I assure you we'll adopt it."

The Prophet Muhammad taught that all men are equal. Over the centuries Islam has nourished scientists, philosophers, architects and writers. But the last phrase of the Koran's injunction to "obey Allah, the messenger and those of you who are in authority" is a boon to autocrats. Saddam pretends devotion when it suits his purposes. He has gone from murdering clerics to proclaiming a jihad and televising his prayers during the war.

"Constitutional and representative government has been a miserable failure in the Arab world," says Elie Kedourie, a renowned scholar of Islam. "Elections and parliaments have no roots in classic Muslim thought. Only one figure holds ultimate legitimate authority in both the secular and religious realms, and that's the Caliph. The title may change, but the theory does not."

In any land where things are the way they are because God says so, the all important question is, *Who says he says so?* In Iraq the answer is still Saddam. In Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, it's still the royal family. That much some of the war's winners and its loser have in common.

ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE

A Man-Made Hell on Earth

The ecological devastation of Kuwait is worse than anyone imagined, but it is not the planetwide catastrophe that some predicted



By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT



Dante would have felt right at home in Kuwait, a desert paradise that has suddenly been transformed into an environmental inferno. Across the land hundreds of orange fireballs roar like dragons, blasting sulfurous clouds high into the air. Soot falls like gritty snowflakes, streaking windshields and staining clothes. From the overcast skies drips a greasy black rain, while sheets of goosy oil slap against a polluted shore. Burned-out hulks of twisted metal litter a landscape pockmarked by bomb craters, land mines and shallow graves scraped in the sand.

Seen close up for the first time last week, the ecological damage inflicted on the tiny country turns out to be worse than anyone dared imagine. Instead of the 300 burning oil wells predicted in worst-case scenarios, virtually all the country's 1,000 wells were wrecked or set on fire, and 600 or so are still ablaze. For those who live under the resulting thick, sooty clouds, day seems like night and temperatures are 11°C (20°F) cooler than in places where the sky is clear. Some of the well fires could burn for years, spew-

ing out poisonous fumes that choke the air and rake the throat, particularly when the air is still. The miasma poses a special risk to the very young, the old and the infirm. "There is a real danger to human life," says a Western diplomat in Riyadh. "When the winds stop, a lot of people are going to die."

But while the damage to Kuwait is even worse than expected, the environmental effects on the region—and the planet—may be less severe than early reports suggested. As the fog of war lifts, it is becoming clear that various interest groups have been using the environment as a propaganda football to score political points.

Even before the fires were set, antiwar activists foretold global catastrophe if Saddam ignited the oil fields. Thick black clouds, some scientists predicted, could reach the upper atmosphere, snuffing out an entire growing season and threatening millions with starvation. During the war, the Pentagon issued what turned out to be exaggerated assessments of oil spills into the gulf, putting Saddam Hussein's acts of ecoterrorism in the worst possible light. Kuwaiti officials appear to be still overstating the amount of oil going up in smoke: the Kuwaitis say they are losing 6 million bbl. per day (roughly equal to 10% of daily

global oil use), a figure U.S. experts say is not credible.

The oil spill off the shores of Kuwait, which was widely reported to be the largest in history—some 11 million bbl.—is now estimated to be one-quarter to one-twentieth that size, making it smaller than the 1979-80 Gulf of Mexico spill at the off-shore drilling rig known as Ixtoc I. Similarly, Carl Sagan's well-publicized prediction that smoke from the oil fires could rise 5 to 10 km (3 to 6 miles) to the stratosphere and blanket the globe has not yet come to pass. So far, the smoke clouds are hugging the ground, drifting in the prevailing westerlies only as far as Pakistan.

Some scientists are still predicting that smoke from the gulf could disrupt the monsoon in the Indian subcontinent and pelt rich croplands there with acid rain. Nonetheless, say scientists in New Delhi. Acidic pollutants would probably be neutralized by dust in the Indian air, which tends to be alkaline. Besides, observers have yet to see traces of smoke, and certainly nothing that would disrupt the subcontinent's weather patterns. "The monsoon is too large and powerful a global phenomenon to be affected by one local event," says Vasant Gowariker, a monsoon expert at India's Department of Science and Technology.



Shooting flames as tall as 50-story buildings, Kuwait's blazing oil wells create a toxic pall that may affect the region for decades

That is not to say the environment has not suffered serious harm. The gulf war was the first conflict in which ecoterrorism played a major role in a combatant's battle plan, and even though the fighting lasted only 42 days, it may turn out to be the most ecologically destructive conflict in the history of warfare. Experts are still sorting out the effects on the air, land and sea, some of which may persist for generations to come.

THE BURNING OF KUWAIT

The most pressing problem is posed by the fiery oil wells, which after a month of continuous burning will create enough smoke and soot to cover an area half the size of the U.S., according to some projections. The by-products of combustion include carbon monoxide, nitrogen dioxide and, because of the high sulfur content of Kuwaiti crude, a good deal of sulfur dioxide—a prime component in acid rain.

The pall causes gagging and choking, and there have been reports of respiratory problems from as far away as Bahrain. Eventually some of the toxic by-products will enter the food chain and work their way up, a phenomenon dubbed petroleum poisoning. "I think the whole region is in for a bath of carcinogenic, mutagenic and

possibly teratogenic chemicals," says Peter Montague of Greenpeace, referring to compounds that cause cancer, mutations and congenital deformities.

TRACKS ACROSS THE DESERT

Less evident is the damage to the desert. Although many think of it as a lifeless place, the desert is actually a teeming, though fragile, ecosystem. Home to a variety of spiders, snakes and scorpions as well as larger creatures like camels, sheep and gazelles, it is literally held together by microorganisms, which form a thin surface crust. This crust catches the seeds of sparse shrubs and prevents surface soil from blowing away. Once it is disturbed—by the maneuvers of a million soldiers, say—recovery can take decades. The Libyan desert still shows tank tracks laid down in World War II.

Ironically, some parts of the Kuwaiti desert may indirectly benefit from the war. Much of the battle was fought on sandy or stony surfaces that had already been deformed almost beyond redemption by generations of Bedouin shepherds and, more recently, caravans of joyriders and hunters in all-terrain vehicles. The presence of hundreds of thousands of unexploded Iraqi mines in and around Kuwait will

make both groups think twice about visiting their favorite haunts, thus giving large stretches of desert a chance to heal.

OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS

In the waters of the gulf, the oil spill now estimated by the Saudi government at 0.5 million to 3 million bbl. has been partially contained, but not cleaned up. Although the thickening sludge has killed thousands of seabirds, debilitated the Saudi shrimp industry and threatened plants and coral reefs along the coast of Kuwait and northern Saudi Arabia, favorable winds have so far kept it well north of the rich marine ecosystems in the bay of Bahrain. These marshy flats are the breeding grounds of large numbers of fish and shrimp and the favorite habitat of the rare dugong, the cousin of the American manatee that was already facing extinction before the war began.

No one knows how long it will take to undo the damage done by the war. Most of the oil in the gulf will probably be left for nature to dispose of, a process that could take decades given the sluggish movement of the water. The job of disarming or exploding the land mines is also likely to go on for years; 50 years after World War II, people are still stumbling on mines in Egypt's western desert.

Work on the burning oil wells should move a little faster. Representatives from several U.S. fire-fighting crews, including Houston's Red Adair Co., were on their way to Kuwait last week to start assessing the damage. But the oil fields must be cleared of unexploded mines before workers can even begin laying pipelines for the tons of seawater the fire fighters will use to cool the burning wellheads. And if the damage to the wells is sufficiently severe, fire fighters may have to drill diagonal relief wells in order to fill them with mud or cement, a capping process that can take months and cost as much as \$10 million per well. By their estimates, Kuwait may still be battling oil blazes two years from now.

Environmental groups are calling for fact-finding missions and legal action to discourage future acts of ecowarfare. Their worst nightmare is that the idea of holding nature hostage will spread to other conflicts. "I don't think we can tolerate this happening again," says Michael Renner, senior researcher at the Worldwatch Institute. "The environment is already under attack from our activities in peacetime." What can be done to prevent recurrences? One possibility: an international agreement that, like a Geneva Convention, would make ecoterrorism a war crime as punishable by law as the murder of hostages or the torture of POWs. — *Reported by William Dowell/Dhahran and Michael Riley/Washington*



Secretary of State Baker conferring with Saudi King Fahd at his palace in Riyadh

DIPLOMACY

The Saudis Seize the Day

Off the mark early, Riyadh suggests uniting the West Bank and Gaza into a Greater Jordan—but without King Hussein

By GEORGE J. CHURCH



Time is short. The gulf war forged new alliances, shattered old ideas and forced a reconsideration of dug-in positions, giving peace at least a slim chance in the Middle East. But the new climate may not last much longer than a desert rainstorm; old habits, ways of thinking and alignments could quickly reassert themselves. So, to use a much overworked but appropriate metaphor, all parties interested in an Arab-Israeli peace process must scramble through the window of opportunity before it bangs shut.

That is a large part of the message Secretary of State James Baker is carrying on a swing through the Middle East that began last week. It is also what he heard on his first stop Friday in Riyadh: his Saudi Arabian hosts are equally convinced of the need to move fast.

In fact, the Saudis have developed some ideas that they think should be part of any Middle East settlement—not quite detailed enough to be called a plan but still more specific than anything that has yet come out of Washington. Though Riyadh's suggestions were not raised with Baker, at least initially, British sources report that Saudi officials did outline their approach to Prime Minister John Major during his visit last week to the kingdom. The central idea, however, looks to be one that Israel could be brought to consider only under almost unimaginable U.S. pressure, and perhaps not even then.

Riyadh would combine the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip with Jordan into a new Palestinian state that would

be economically linked to Israel in a common market. It is not entirely a new thought. Ronald Reagan in 1982 proposed Palestinian "self-government" in the West Bank and Gaza in a federation with Jordan. The Saudis, however, seem to look toward a much tighter union.

Probably the most striking new wrinkle is that the Saudis contemplate King Hussein's abdication. Before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Hussein's kingdom included the West Bank. But the Saudis doubt that any Arab Hashemite King could now rule an amalgam of Jordan, the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians have about a 60%

majority over Bedouin-descended Arabs even in present-day Jordan; they would be far more dominant still in an expanded state. In Riyadh's eyes, Hussein would either be overthrown or have to abdicate—and good riddance.

Riyadh has been terminally infuriated by Hussein's siding with Iraq in the just-ended war. Saudis devoutly believe that the Jordanian King conspired with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who is no relation, to carve up Saudi Arabia. King Hussein supposedly would have reigned over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina as a sort of Iraqi viceroy (his ancestors ruled that part of Arabia until driven out by Abdul Aziz, founder of the House of Saud, before World War I). Outside Arabia, most analysts doubt Saddam would ever have shared power that way.

Some Saudis think King Hussein is on the way out anyway. If he is toppled by a coup, they fear, Jordan might be torn by a Lebanon-style civil war, or ruled by radical Palestinians or Islamic fundamentalists.

British diplomats believe that scenario would be more likely if the Saudi ideas are adopted than if they are not. By backing Iraq, they believe, Hussein has won enough popularity with Jordan's Palestinian citizens to hold on in Amman, but he might indeed fall in an expanded, overwhelmingly Palestinian Jordan. London and Riyadh do agree that Syria is willing to make some sort of settlement with Israel about the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights if parallel progress can be made toward solving the Palestinian problem.

Which at the moment seems a monstrous if. In Israel only the left wing would consider anything resembling the Saudi approach, and it has been discredited by Palestinian cheers for the Scud missiles rained on Israel by Iraq during the war. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has no intention of yielding an inch of the occupied territories; he will not even promote his own 1989 plan to hold elections in the territories and then negotiate limited autonomy with the people's choices. If Shamir should falter, he may be brought down by the rightists in the governing Likud coalition who want to annex the territories outright and even transfer most of the 1.7 million Palestinians living there to present-day Jordan.

Washington nonetheless is disposed to welcome the Saudi ideas as a sign of fresh thought. Says a senior White House official: "To the degree that different players are thinking of new approaches or reviving old approaches, it creates an atmosphere in which you can begin to pick and choose and put together something that may be able to advance the process." As always, the obstacles to peace in the Middle East appear insurmountable. But there is a new sense of urgency in tackling those obstacles, and that just might be enough to get something started.

—With reporting by Dean Fischer/
Riyadh and William Mader/London



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today. And, calling for a future "in which the great powers share responsibility for maintaining order," a former Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, ranks military strength at the bottom of his list of our most important priorities.

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George H. Hitchings, Ph.D., Nobel Prize winner for Medicine, joined Geraldine Ferraro in adding population control to our list—and also ranked it

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Education
is the
Number One
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as America's number one concern. Social policy leader Roger Wilkins and former White House chief of staff Donald Regan both brought up the need to repair the nation's infrastructure of highways, bridges and railroads. Robert S. McNamara introduced, as the nation's most urgent problem, the polarization of our people.

"We're seeing a fragmentation of our society, a polarization," McNamara says. "Fifteen to 20 percent of our people are being marginalized. They are incapable of participating either economically or politically. Yet we don't seem concerned, or if we are concerned, we are unwilling to take the action necessary to overcome it."

"These marginal Americans are dropouts from the secondary school system, and more and more they are dropouts from the primary school system. They are associated with crime; they are addicted to drugs; they feel no responsibility to the society. And in part, I think this reflects what they see as the lack of societal feeling of responsibility to them. The society has been unwilling to strengthen the school system, particularly in the primary and secondary grades. Many metro-

THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR TOP PRIORITIES

Richard M. Nixon
U.S. President, 1968-1974
Top Priority: Global Leadership
Next: Economy

Robert S. McNamara
Secretary of Defense, 1961-1968
Top Priority: Polarization
Next: Shared Values

Geraldine Ferraro
Democratic nominee for
Vice President, 1984
Top Priority: Population Control
Next: Education

Milton Friedman
Economist and educator
Top Priority: Privatization of
Schooling—Education
Next: Crime/Legal System

J. William Fulbright
U.S. Senator (Arkansas), 1945-1974
Top Priority: Education
Next: Crime/Legal System

Arthur Miller
Pulitzer-Prize winning playwright
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Education

Donald Regan
White House Chief of Staff, 1985-1987
Secretary of the Treasury, 1981-1985
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Education

Betty Friedan
Author and feminist leader
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Shared Values

Tom Brokaw
Network News Anchorman, NBC
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Education

Theodore M. Hesburgh
President, University of
Notre Dame, 1952-1987
Top Priority: Education
Next: Economy

Franklin Thomas
President, The Ford Foundation
Top Priority: Shared Values
Next: Economy

Benjamin Spock
Noted pediatrician and
political activist
Top Priority: Child Care
Next: Disarmament

politan areas—Philadelphia, New York, Washington, D.C., and many others—are going bankrupt because we are unwilling to provide the resources necessary to build the physical base and institutional base we need. We need roads and bridges and other physical infrastructure for an efficient society. We need institutions such as schools and a health-care system. We are not spending what we need to spend to achieve a solid foundation for social order and economic advance in the 21st century."

Donald Regan expresses deep concern in "seeing more emphasis on traditional values. It used to be that we were a generous people," he says. "Now we've become a nation of one-issue citizens. We want what we want and want it now."

As one of the group identifying education as the nation's number one priority, Father Theodore Hesburgh, the former President of Notre Dame, called it "the source of all progress for the next generation." Father Hesburgh



considers it critical, too, for us to find "national leadership at all levels," citing a need for "creative thinking—not just reacting—and a vision for a new world aborning."

What do you think?

This special section is the first of a series that will be published periodically here and in other publications of The Time Inc. Magazine Company. Coinciding with the 500th anniversary celebration of the discovery of America by Columbus, the series will strive to "rediscover" America by exploring our roots and by offering ideas to

make the nation better. It is our hope that these ideas—and yours—will add up to a blueprint for America's future.

Each special section will include a free, postage-paid ballot card for you to use in registering your opinions. It is located behind the section. Please fill it out and send it in. We'll report your ideas in the next edition of the Rediscover America 1992-1992 series. •

The consensus order of priorities was calculated on an averaging system utilizing each participant's complete rankings of 11 issues.

Bill Clinton

Governor of Arkansas
Top Priority: Education
Next: Child Care

George H. Hitchings

Nobel Prize winner (Medicine), 1988
Top Priority: Population Control
Next: Economy

Lester Thurow

Economist and educator
Top Priority: Education
Next: Shared Values

Daniel K. Inouye

U.S. Senator (Hawaii)
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Child Care

Barbara Jordan

Member, House of Representatives (Texas), 1972-1978
Top Priority: Education
Next: Economy

Fred Rogers

Television Producer and host of "Mr. Rogers" television show
Top Priority: Child Care
Next: Crime/Legal System

George Deukmejian

Governor of California, 1987-1991
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Education

Paul R. Soglin

Mayor of Madison, Wisconsin
Top Priority: Education
Next: Child Care

Casper Weinberger

Secretary of Defense, 1981-1987
Secretary of HEW, 1973-1975
Top Priority: Global Leadership and Military Strength
Next: Economy

Bill Moyers

Television journalist, former Presidential Press Secretary
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Shared Values

Roger Wilkins

Writer and social policy leader
Top Priority: Economy
Next: Education

Richard G. Lugar

U.S. Senator (Indiana)
Top Priority: Global Leadership
Next: Shared Values

Safety should be our first priority. The auto industry has dragged its feet long enough.

We aren't crusaders. We're car builders. But we've discovered something wonderful. Drivers' air bags save lives. The letters we get from people whose lives have been saved by a Chrysler air bag are enough to make a grown man cry.

So one million air bags later, we know we're on the right track.

We want to provide a level of safety that is not always available today in the average car and truck. We know that a vehicle engineered for safety will add value the customer should not be asked to live without.

But we have a head start.

Chrysler is the only car company with a driver's side air bag standard on every car we build in the U.S.* Honda says they will have them in all their cars in 1994. Toyota and Nissan say 1993. GM announced they will have drivers' air bags in all their cars in 1995.

Meanwhile, everybody puts them on the most expensive cars. But not the lowest priced.

And we wonder why. There's no such thing as a poor man's air bag.

Chrysler has more models of cars and trucks combined with standard anti-lock brakes than Honda, Toyota and Nissan together. The anti-lock brake system is one of the best things ever to go into a car.

And by the way, Chrysler offers more models with 4-wheel drive than Honda, Toyota and Nissan combined.

Every car company has its priorities. None is more important to us than safety.

How about an air bag for a minivan?

For 1991 Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager have a lower, more aero front end. An instrument panel redesigned for easier readability. Rear shoulder harnesses for passengers in the out-board seats. Available all-wheel drive for better traction and anti-lock brakes for surer stops.

But we get letters asking, "Where is our air bag?"

So this January we introduced the first available minivan air bag. The minivan driver's air bag must be used with the seat belt to be fully effective. The two together will provide the level of safety we're talking about.

Is any safety feature insignificant?

Consider the safety options we make available! A visor phone you can talk into without taking your hands off the wheel. A remote keyless entry system when it's dark and scary. An electrochromatic rear-view mirror that dims automatically to reduce glare. Speed-sensitive locks that lock themselves. Heated outside power mirrors to get rid of freezeover. Wiper air foils to keep your windshield clear, even in a downpour. And how about bumpers that exceed government regulations.

We want you to know how important our safety features are. Before you have to use them.

Is a quality car a safe car?

In the early eighties, the American car industry made a mockery of "made in America." And we paid the price. A big price.

But this is 1991. And 120 billion dollars later, our industry has forged the biggest turnaround in the history of industrial America. The technology, the factories, the cars and trucks, the training have all been jump-started practically from scratch.

The result: one American brand is now ahead of Honda in the same survey that has enthroned Honda quality. The rest are close behind. The distance we have traveled is impressive. The distance we have to go is miniscule. And we will go the distance.

But is a quality car automatically a safe car? Not unless there is a commitment to the engineering features that will provide the level

of safety all carmakers should strive to achieve. We believe a car engineered for safety is a car engineered for quality.

And for the ultimate benefit of the consumer.

Do we have to sacrifice customer care?

For the last 10 years, Chrysler has provided the customer with the longest powertrain warranties in the business.** We still do.

For the last four years, a J.D. Power and Associates survey has shown Chrysler attained the highest customer satisfaction ranking of any American car manufacturer,** based on the quality of our products as well as the quality of our dealer service.

We will not sacrifice our products. Our dealers will not sacrifice service. We can't afford to.

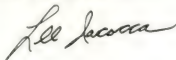
Safety: a commitment for the 90's and beyond.

Whether stated publicly or implied, every car company has made a commitment to quality. Or satisfaction. Or both. And we're all doing everything we can to make good on that promise. If we didn't, the customer would put us out of business in a hurry.

But the Chrysler commitment goes beyond quality or service, the price of admission to the market. It goes directly to a growing concern in America: safety on the road.

We share that concern. And we show it. In the way we engineer safety, feature after feature, into the cars and trucks we build.

It's our hope that the rest of the industry will do the same. And do it soon.



Advantage: Chrysler.

CHRYSLER • PLYMOUTH • DODGE • DODGE TRUCKS • JEEP • EAGLE

Politicians Won't Solve Our Problems For Us

Rolling up our sleeves to tackle the new and difficult is the story of America.

By David McCullough

DO
YOU AGREE?

If
we are
unwilling
to pay taxes,
we are not
good
citizens.

VOTE IN
OUR POLL

get here in the first place, of land to clear, floods, epidemic disease, of slave chains and city slums and terrible winters on the high plains.

Everything we have took work—our institutions, our wealth, our freedoms. "Look at all the farms," a child says to her grandmother in the seats behind me on a summer flight into Minneapolis. "Yes," she replies. "And what work it took!"

Work got us where we are. Easy does it has never done it for us, and never will. We are the beneficiaries of men and women who toiled ten, twelve hours a day on farms, on railroads, in mines, mills, at kitchen sinks and drafting tables. We like to work, we judge one another by how well we work, because at heart we are an extremely industrious, creative people. And it is from our accomplishments, from our best work that we've found our greatest satisfaction and sense of worth as a people—not from ease or comfort or from owning things, though we do go through spells when we forget that. The rolling up of sleeves to tackle the new and difficult in America is not just poster art; it's been our story in fact.

So we should take heart—"Spir on our hands and take a fresh holt," as our plain-spoken forebears might have said. Nor should we expect our politicians to solve our problems for us. Which is another lesson from the past.

History shows that Congress acts when the country wants action. Leadership takes charge in Washington

IF WE WANT TO MAKE IT A BETTER COUNTRY, IF WE'RE SERIOUS, WE WOULD DO well to begin with a few simple lessons from the past.

The first is that nothing of lasting value or importance in our way of life, none of our proudest attainments, have ever come without effort. America is an effort. We are a nation born of risk and adversity—of fearful seas to cross just to

GOVERNMENT

ECHOES FROM YESTERDAY

The best system of government is to have one party govern and the other party watch.

—Thomas B. Reed,
speech in the House of
Representatives, 1880

IDEAS FOR TOMORROW

I would like a parliamentary system, in which the chief executive would be a member of the majority party. This would eliminate the stalemates between President and Congress, which cast doubt at home on the government's competence to solve problems, and around the world on America's ability to lead.

—Former U.S. Senator
J. William Fulbright for
REDISCOVER AMERICA
1992/1992

when it is clear the country will accept nothing less. The sweeping reforms enacted at the start of the century—limits on child labor, women's suffrage, protection of our natural resources—all came about because the country demanded such change. And the same was true during the next great upswelling of progressive action in the Congress, in the 1930s, when social security, rural electrification, and the minimum wage were established.

If the politicians of our time fail to meet the challenges of our time, we have only ourselves to blame. If we don't vote, if we are unwilling to pay taxes, or even to take part in the census, then what good are we as citizens? What will history say of us?

As the greatest of our politicians said in his famous first inaugural address in the dark hour before the storm of the Civil War: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."

Another lesson from our past, most surely, is that we are better at some things than others and we're better off doing what we do best. What we've excelled at for a very long time is making things, building, solving problems. And educating our children.

Our creative vitality has been an example for the world. We make movies, music, medicines, trucks, toys, airplanes, paint, plate glass and computers as does no one; we publish books, design and manufacture clothes as does no one. Our creative energy and output, it should also be noted, has seldom had much to do with our politics, the so-called "climate" in Washington. It was in the 1920s, for example, the time of the Teapot Dome scandal, the era



when one President of the United States, Calvin Coolidge, spent a good part of every afternoon asleep, that Gershwin composed *An American in Paris*, when Faulkner, Hemingway and Fitzgerald burst upon the scene, when Lindbergh built his plane and flew the Atlantic, and Michelson measured the speed of light.

We are the people who built the Panama Canal and the Golden Gate Bridge, the Mount Wilson Observatory, the Library of Congress, Lincoln Center. We invented jazz and the general hospital. We grew strong making steel and automobiles. Our productive power turned the tide of world history in this century, in the Second World War. We are the people who devised *Voyager 2*, the unmanned spacecraft that succeeded in photographing the planet

Uranus, in the dark, while traveling at a speed of up to 65,000 miles an hour.

Our public schools and great universities have long been considered the best in the world. And if our past can teach us anything it is that education—education second to none and open to all—has been our salvation, our making. That, too, has been part of the work of America, the good work of America.

We are what we do. The test will be in what we value, what we want. •

Historian McCullough has a National Book Award and an American Book Award. He hosts "The American Experience" on PBS and was narrator of the series, "The Civil War."

Safety shouldn't



Plymouth Acclaim LX. Driver's Air Bag Standard.
Child-Protection Locks. Anti-Lock Brakes. Front-Wheel Drive.
Power Brakes. Power Steering. Power Locks.
Dual Power Heated Mirrors. Outboard Rear Shoulder Seat Belts.
Unibody Construction. Halogen Headlamps. Side Window Demisters.
High-Mounted Stoplight. **\$16,302****



Dodge Shadow America.
Child-Protection Locks. P.B.
Unibody Construction. Outboard
Halogen Headlamps. Side Window
Stoplight. Front-Wheel



Eagle Premier ES. Anti-lock Brakes. Outboard Rear Shoulder
Seat Belts. Child-Protection Locks. Front-Wheel Drive.
Halogen Headlamps. Power Steering. Power Brakes.
Unibody Construction. Power Locks. Power Windows.
Side Window Demisters. **\$19,478****



Dodge Dakota Sport. Four-
Fog Lamps. Power Steering.
Power Windows. Side
Grab Handles. Halogen Headlamps.



Chrysler believes safety shouldn't be just for the rich. Safety should be available to everyone.

Now we know Volvo believes in safety. And Mercedes-Benz believes in safety. They've proven it. Both have air bags and anti-lock brakes. And more.

And so do Porsche, Audi, Infiniti, Lexus, and Acura. And of course, we can't forget Cadillac and Lincoln.

The point is...these cars have air bags and ABS brakes but not for under \$20,000. Over \$20,000, yes. Even up to \$80,000.

Chrysler puts a driver's air bag in every passenger car it

*Excludes trucks and cars built for Chrysler: Imorty, Laser, Talon, Premier, Monaco, Summit. **Sticker price of model as described and shown. Some equipment optional. Tax, title and destination

start at \$20,000.



Shadow. Driver's Air Bag Standard. Power Steering. Power Brakes. Power Windows. Power Locks. Power Door Locks. Rear Shoulder Seat Belts. Side Window Demisters. High-Mounted Stoplight. Front-Wheel Drive. **\$8,076****



Chrysler LeBaron Sedan. Driver's Air Bag Standard. Child-Protection Locks. Anti-Lock Brakes. Front-Wheel Drive. Power Brakes. Power Steering. Power Locks. Dual Power Heated Mirrors. Unibody Construction. Outboard Rear Shoulder Seat Belts. Halogen Headlamps. Side Window Demisters. High-Mounted Stoplight. **\$17,400****



Shadow. Four-Wheel Drive. Anti-Lock Brakes. Power Brakes. Power Locks. Power Windows. Power Door Locks. Side Window Demisters. Anti-Spin Differential. **\$16,140****



Jeep Cherokee Laredo. Four-Wheel Anti-Lock Brakes. Four-Wheel Drive. Fog Lights. Power Steering. Uniframe Design. Power Brakes. Remote Keyless Entry System. Shift-On-The-Fly. Grab Handles. **\$19,664****

builds in the U.S.* Every car. Including our lowest priced cars. Dodge Shadow America and Plymouth Sundance America.

Which means, at Chrysler, safety starts at \$7,699†. Not \$20,000. Not \$30,000. And not \$40,000.

When it comes to safety, you don't have to be rich to be well off. charges extra. **Two-door base sticker price. Tax, title and destination charges extra.

CHRYSLER • PLYMOUTH • DODGE • DODGE TRUCKS • JEEP • EAGLE

Advantage: Chrysler.

Unless We Share, We Are Not Fully Human

Our links as a nation are changing. We now seem to come together only in crisis.

By Joyce Carol Oates

CAN THERE BE A COMMUNITY WITHOUT RITUAL? Can there be ritual without community? Can a secular, consumer-oriented society, rapidly fragmenting into sub-societies of ethnic, cultural, professional and religious diversity, be united in any but the most abstract political way—guaranteed, and enforced, by law?

Or is the very idea of "community" in America, in the final years of the twentieth century, outdated—has it undergone a radical transformation from its origins in a largely agrarian and ethnically homogenous culture?

Our traditional sense of "community" is that it has to do with a specific place and time. "Community" means communal, shared participation; if not intimate knowledge of one another, then at least recognition of one another as individuals with families and personal histories. Community gives us identity, and without community we are not fully human.

Americans have always had a bitter-sweet attitude toward "community." It seems in a way bound up with the idea of childhood, a place that time has spared, inviolable, of surpassing beauty. We think of small-town or rural America, and of Norman Rockwell families celebrating Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter in a timeless and an historical region of the soul. We think—to slightly paraphrase Robert Frost—of that communal home that, when you go there, "they have to let you in." Yet the heart-rending ethos of such beloved American works as Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* had its corrective in the harsher portraits of small-town American life depicted by Mark Twain, Sinclair Lewis, Thomas Wolfe and William Faulkner; even Willa Cather, who wrote with such passionate lyricism of the land, was unsentimental regarding the small-minded human communities of the provinces. Our collective American drama (perhaps it is the drama of our species) is that between the security of the community and the hunger for freedom in the individual.

Classic American literature has brilliantly dramatized the ways in which community has evolved since Puritan times.

Recall the claustrophobic world of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, where everyone in Boston, Massachusetts of the 1640s knows everyone else's business and, in Hawthorne's words, "religion and law were almost identical." Private behavior per se does not exist: all is public, publicly prescribed. With the burgeoning growth of America, religious prescription gave way to law, and the very concept of "community" rapidly changed.

Alexis de Tocqueville observed in *Democracy in America* (1835-1840) that "newspapers make associations, and associations make newspapers." As the older concept of an essentially village community gave way to urban diversity, newer and more elastic concepts of community have naturally arisen, and these communities are linked and even defined by the media. Beyond these are self-selected communities that transcend geographical or neighborhood propinquity by way of the sharing of common interests—religion, the arts, sports, politics, et al. It has not gone unobserved that these self-selected communities (or cultures) have their own rituals, sacred to them, if not always to outsiders.

When I return home to Millersport, New York, as I have, frequently, since first leaving to go to college in 1956, I am struck by the changes in my childhood landscape; and by the mysterious relationship between permanence and change. Millersport is a very old community, formerly a farming community and still rural, and small—so small, it never acquired its own post office. Less a settlement than a crossroads, it is seven miles south of Lockport, through which the Erie Canal flows, and about twenty miles north of Buffalo—the very heart of the infamous Snow Belt. Millersport would scarcely exist except it

PREJUDICE

ECHOES FROM YESTERDAY

It is never too late to give up your prejudices.

—Henry David Thoreau, 1854

IDEAS FOR TOMORROW

If everybody you invite into your life for a drink or dinner all look just like you, why not invite a friend from a different race or ethnic group to come to your house? If we could expand the horizon of people we respect, it would take us a long way toward ending racism. You cannot dislike, distrust or hate people you respect.

—former U.S. Representative
Barbara Jordan for
REDISCOVER AMERICA

is a crossroads on a busy country highway (Transit Road—Route 78), and this has made all the difference. Within my own lifetime I've seen the highway widened from two lanes to three and to four: thunderous, and dangerous, with traffic at certain hours of the day, the road is a dramatic

symbol, in microcosm, of the changes in rural America since World War II. Our old community has been overlaid by a very new, promiscuous, anonymous, and perhaps ephemeral business community of strangers; their businesses (the usual fast-food restaurants, gas stations, car dealerships, miscellaneous outlets) simply front Transit Road, overlaid, as if in an eerie dream, upon a background of still-

cultivated farmland and woods. One day soon, the highway will have become a sort of conduit or tunnel linking Lockport and Buffalo, only incidentally passing through such old, small communities as Millersport, and with no integral relationship to them whatsoever. Much of Niagara County remains rural once you leave the main highways, but there is no denying that the very nature of the countryside has irreparably changed, and with it the very nature of the community.

The communities Americans now value are almost entirely self-selected and self-defined. Academic-intellectual communities like Princeton, Cambridge and Palo Alto, where everyone is from somewhere else, and may shortly be leaving; religious communities that are not "geographical" but may in fact be linked by a medium as abstract and impersonal as television; artistic communities that flourish, or endure, in certain very limited areas, and further divide into subcultures— theater, music, art, literature, dance—each with its own hierarchy of power-brokers, players, acolytes, rebels. Of course, many Americans, especially affluent Americans who live in populous regions, can belong to a number of these communities, as well as a more traditional community of neighbors. ("Neighborhoods" are now most helpfully defined as residential areas in which citizens experience their bonds with one another when they are threatened in some immediate way—by crime, by ecological crises, by rapacious land developers.

Once the threat is removed, the "neighborhood" is apt to dissolve.)

The metaphor of America as a "melting pot" seems no longer quite so applicable; nationalities that once sought to "melt" into a homogenized America now try to

maintain, and in some cases rediscover and cultivate, their special origins. As for mainstream America, long-settled America, an America of citizens who, in terms of numbers, tend to be Caucasian—how precisely are we linked? We have our subcultures, we have our immediate communities, but are we linked in larger, more ritualistic ways? For many Americans, community is generated most



—
DO
YOU AGREE?

—
To move
forward,
we need to
respect our
differences,
not insist
on being a
"melting pot."

—
VOTE IN
OUR POLL

forcibly by the media. There are our media-hyped holidays. There are shared experiences, like elections, or emergencies of the order of the Persian Gulf crisis; there are profoundly devastating national tragedies, like the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Like contemporary neighborhoods, we may be most passionately linked to one another by dramatic crises, which by their very nature are unpredictable, thus especially frightening. Indeed, it may well be that crisis, with its myriad faces and names, will become our communal rallying-point of the 1990s. The rituals attending them will be media-generated, media-ordained. Tocqueville's insight of the mid-1800s—that the media make associations—is true now in a way he could never have anticipated.

Is this desirable?—is it undesirable?—or is it simply "history"—"evolution"? Through our own efforts and concerted good faith in learning to know, thus to respect, the wonderfully rich and diverse subcommunities of America, we can establish a new vision of America: a place where "community" may mean many things, yet retains its deeper, spiritual significance. We may even learn, to coincide with the 500th anniversary of the "discovery" of America by Columbus, that America, in its magnificent variety, has yet to be discovered. •

Oates has won a National Book Award and numerous other honors for her novels, poetry, essays, stories and plays.

After one million 2 1/2 million what do we do

Third Brake Light
center mounted high inside
the lift gate is visible through
the rear window as an extra
signal to drivers behind you.

**Unibelt Lap and Shoulder
Restraints** protect all front and
rear outboard passengers. These
restraints lock up instantly dur-
ing severe deceleration.

New "Child-Protection"
Lock on sliding door prevents
the door from being unlatched
from the inside. "Kids can't open
the door" while you're driving.

New 4-Wheel Anti-Lock Brakes
available. Help prevent wheel
lock-up, make braking safer and
surer. Also let you
maneuver
during
hard
braking.



The First Minivan

Chrysler invented the minivan. We were first. Chrysler puts driver-side air bags in every car we build in the U.S.** Another first.

The next step was a foregone conclusion...Chrysler is first with minivan air bags. And when Ford, GM and the imports get around to putting drivers' air bags in their

minivans, we'll be the first to offer them congratulations.

For the past seven years the competition has been trying to catch us. Match our success. Our innovations. And always ended up a poor second!

And this year, with our new aerodynamic styling and redesigned interiors...it's true again. Especially in new

*The minivan air bag does not qualify as a passenger air control restraint system. For added safety, you must wear your seat belt. **Excludes vehicles built for Chrysler, Imperial, Lancer, Talon, Prowler, Monaco, Stratus. *Based on minivans.

Air Bags and Minivans, for an encore?

Car-Like Handling and Maneuverability with 18:1 power steering responsiveness and front-wheel drive. You'll park like a pro too.



The First Driver's Air Bag ever in a Minivan.

The minivan air bag used with a lap/shoulder belt is the best driver safety system available today. Together they save lives. Make sure your new minivan has one.

New All-Wheel Drive System available.

Offers superior straight-line acceleration and better traction and cornering ability on wet or slippery roads. This extra traction is automatic. When needed, it is there. Automatically.



Power To Avoid Trouble.

The newly available 3.3-liter V-6 engine. Or the available 3.0-liter V-6. All the power you need to avoid bad drivers and bad situations.



with an Air Bag.

safety features. Not only have we added air bags to Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager, we've also made available...four-wheel anti-lock brakes, four-wheel

drive and more V-6 power.

Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager. The original. And still the leader. Beware of imitations.



Advantage: Dodge



Advantage: Plymouth

What Is The Secret Of Teaching Values?

In an increasingly complex society, old ways are no longer guaranteed to work.

By James A. Michener

VALUES ARE THE EMOTIONAL RULES BY WHICH A NATION GOVERNS ITSELF. Values summarize the accumulated folk wisdom by which a society organizes and disciplines itself. And values are the precious reminders that individuals obey to bring order and meaning into their personal lives. Without values, nations, societies and individuals can pitch straight to hell.

I was a tough, undisciplined youngster, suspended three times from school, twice from college. I was a vagabond at 14, rode freight trains in my late teens. But because I had accumulated an iron-clad set of values, I was able to hack out a fairly acceptable life. In my day—and I am 84—young people acquired their system of values first in the home. I was raised in a terribly broken home, which never had enough money for normal living. But I had an adoptive mother who took in abandoned children, who worked around the clock, and who read to us at night. By the time I was five, I had the great rhythm of the English language echoing in my mind.

I learned values in church, in school and on the street. I learned them through travel, military service and the movies. I acquired values through athletics, where a high-school coach took me, fatherless and without a rudder, and pointed me in the right direction. I learned values in the library and, in fact, it could be that my intellectual life was saved by the little library opened in our town of Doylestown, Pa. about the time I was seven. Records recently recovered showed that the first two cards taken out were issued to Margaret Mead and me. What a start for us; what a start for the library.

Modern kids, regrettably, face extreme pressures that I simply didn't. This is a more complex world and the youngster of the 1990s absorbs a heavy hammering. There's an assault from all sides by news that's threatening; there's been a breakdown of traditional safeguards like the family. Stanford University professor John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, notes, however, that after many years of exploring "the limits of living without ethics, a lot of people are saying, 'It won't work.' I think there's a movement back

toward commitment to shared goals." If so, it's mighty welcome.

What should these goals be? Nationally, there must be a drive for public service, to see society protected and moved ahead. There must be encouragement to blow the whistle when something goes wrong.

Individually, we must develop compassion, a willingness to work, loyalty to family and friends and organizations, the courage to face temporary defeat and not lose forward motion. I think we must learn fairness and honesty in economic matters. And we've got to keep reviewing our value decisions from decade to decade. You're never home free just because you went one way one time.

Adults can keep updating their value systems from the best of what they read and see on television—and from the very fine adult study programs I've observed in places as diverse as Alaska, Maine and Florida. For young people, the home still ought to be the cradle of all values, but unfortunately a staggering proportion of them do not live in stable homes. It is thoughtless beyond imagination for older people to say rigidly, "The child must learn his or her values at home" when there is no home. Some substitute must be found.

Religious training? It would be wonderful if every child had the warm, comforting experience I had in my Sunday school, with its songs, its stories, its bags of candy at the holiday, but many are denied that. And while religion is an admirable teacher for those connected to it, it is a silent voice for those who are not.

The school is the only agency legally established by organized society and supported by taxation whose sole job it is to teach the child the knowledge, the skills and the values required for a successful

CIVIC VIRTUE

ECHOES FROM YESTERDAY

...A good citizen shall be...willing to pull his weight.

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1902

IDEAS FOR TOMORROW

For many, individualism has come to mean that "anything goes" as long as it's in their interest—as opposed to recognizing that one is part of a larger society. As long as our attitude, for example, continues to be, "Don't tax me, tax the guy behind the tree," we're not recognizing we're part of a larger society.

—Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger for REDISCOVER AMERICA

1492/1992

adult life within the bounds of society. Its task is formidable, its achievement when things work well—that is, when teachers, children and parents unite in a common effort—can be magnificent. I know, for I attended such a school and taught in several. But it is obvious that today most schools fall far short of that ideal. They seem to stultify intelligence, not enhance it. Their deficiencies are deplorable, for the average student can spend twelve years in them and learn little, while gifted students are not challenged or helped to achieve at the maximum.

I doubt that I could teach in a modern school, and for good reason. In my day parents and administrators both supported my efforts to be the best teacher possible; today it seems that teachers are not supported by anyone, and I doubt that I could fight undefended. Yet, even those of us who brood about the failure of schools must rely on them to help students build ethical codes and value systems. We must encourage the schools to demonstrate to a child that fair play pays off. That kindness to peers pays off. That fairness in giving grades is taking place. The child has to see all this going on. We must show, as well as tell, what good values are all about.

Young people these days are thrown into a hot-house of competition and social exchange that test their decision-making skills rather strenuously. The peer pressure I had to put up with was relatively simple. A boy would gain access to a jalopy and expect the rest of us to tag along on a joy ride. Today, there are drugs and gangs and unprecedented violence. There is the incessant influence of TV, heightening peer pressure to regard fashion and style, for example, as the highest values to which a young person can aspire.

What television offers is so enticing. There was nothing in my youth to compare with its power. Statistics show that the eight or ten hours a week my generation of kids spent reading books are superseded by the 30 hours modern kids spend at the television set. The difference produces a radically different set of values. Beyond the distorted consumerism, there is an appalling amount of violence. Each week on TV I see endless shootings, stabbings and gruesome deaths. At Halloween I see sadism, abuse of women and slaughter for the fun of it. Young people cannot

feed on such a diet without its having a deleterious effect, and studies that purport to prove otherwise are rubbish.

I am disturbed by the demeaning way television depicts the American school. In too many shows, teachers are comic or pathetic and a student who works hard at his lessons is a wimp or a nerd. With so many people needing to rely on schools as the place to learn values, television could be of critical service to the future of our nation by rediscovering respect for the school. And schools, in turn, should direct youngsters to the best of television, to the portion of TV in which the disabled get support, racism is decried, minorities are depicted as heroes and heroines, and patriotism is extolled and rewarded. If young viewers select programs to ensure a mix of good with the

violent and vicious, they can find material which illuminates the fight of the American people for justice and a decent society. Pressure can be must be—mounted to promote the best, not the worst, of TV.

As a young man I was taught to treat all races with justice, and I wrote numerous books testifying to that belief. I was taught that loyalty to one's nation was an obligation, and I have seen men who dabbled in treason come to mournful ends. I was taught the good citizen pays his taxes, supports schools, libraries and museums, and much of my adult life has centered on such activity. It was drummed into me that one looked after his own health and that of others, and I have tried to do so. At all levels of my education and upbringing I was advised to cling to good people and shun the bad, and I have tried. I realize there are considerations and pressures for young people today that did not exist for me—among them, drugs, AIDS and nuclear weapons. Yet, the values

I learned must endure—and be taught—as the foundation for the America of tomorrow. They must be taught in the home, in religious training, in the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, in Little League, in the media. And most critically, as a guarantee that everyone will be exposed to them, they must be taught in school. •

A Pulitzer Prize winner, best-selling author Michener also has been awarded the U.S. Medal of Freedom.



DO
YOU AGREE?

Schools
should take
on the
responsibility
of instilling
values
in everyone.

VOTE IN
OUR POLL

The Next Frontiers For Science

Space exploration? Genetic research? The environment? A hard choice must be made.

By Isaac Asimov

W

E ARE LIVING IN AN AGE WHERE MANY SCIENTISTS ARE THINKING BIG. THERE is the supercollider, a new unprecedentedly powerful particle accelerator which may give us an answer at last to the final details of the structure of the universe, its beginning, and its end.

There is the genome project, which will attempt to pinpoint every last gene in the human cells and learn just exactly how the chemistry of human life (and of inborn disease) is organized.

There is the space station, which will attempt, at last, to allow us to organize the exploitation of near space by human beings.

All these things, and others of the sort, are highly dramatic and will be, at least potentially, highly useful. All are also highly expensive, something of great importance in a shrinking economy. Worse yet, all are, at the moment, highly irrelevant.

What is relevant is that we are destroying our planet.

A steadily increasing population is placing ever-higher demands on Earth's resources, is forcing the conversion of more and more land to human needs and is wiping out the wilderness and the ecological balance of the planet, something on

which we all depend.

A steadily rising use of fossil fuels for energy (at a rate that is increasing more rapidly than the population) is choking Earth's atmosphere with gases that are slowly poisoning it. In addition, it allows the atmosphere to conserve heat more efficiently, so that the planet is experiencing a greenhouse effect that may have catastrophic impact.

A steadily increasing production of chemical substances that are highly toxic, or that cannot be recycled by biological processes, or both, is poisoning the soil and water of the Earth, is destroying the ozone layer and is converting much of the planetary surface into a garbage heap.

Since there can be nothing on Earth, simply nothing, that

is more important than saving the planet, our coming priorities must be to reverse these destructive tendencies. And America must lead. It is, for instance, foolish, absolutely

foolish, to put the study of reproductive physiology to work on test-tube babies and on producing babies after menopause; we must not increase the number of babies, but decrease them.

We must find alternate sources of energy, long-lasting and non-polluting. We must continue the search for nuclear fusion, in the hope that it will be a far richer and safer source than nuclear fission. We must develop wind-power, wave-power, the use of Earth's internal heat and, most of all, the direct use of solar power. All these things are highly practical, but cost more money than oil and coal, so the challenge is to make them cheaper. (The fact that we can destroy our planet so cheaply, by the way, does not mean we ought to destroy it.)

We must find ways of detoxifying toxic products produced by industrial plants. We must find substitutes for packaging, substitutes that are recyclable. We must find substitutes for chemicals that destroy

the ozone layer.

We must find methods of saving our forests, of saving threatened species, of maintaining a healthy ecological balance on Earth.

If there is any spare effort left over from these absolute necessities of scientific advance, we can put them into other projects—otherwise not.

I regret this, for I am emotionally on the side of the big projects, all of them, but necessity is a hard task-master, and necessity is now in the saddle and holds the whip. •



The astonishingly prolific author of 451 books, Asimov, a biochemist, is a world authority on science and medicine.

DO
YOU AGREE?

The only
scientific
project
that deserves
major funding
is research
to save our
planet.

VOTE IN
OUR POLL



An Iraqi refugee washes clothes in a rain puddle near Safwan: the combination of war-weary civilians and humiliated soldiers proved combustible

World

IRAQ

Seeds of Destruction

By cracking down hard on the riots that erupted throughout his country in the wake of the war's humiliating conclusion, Saddam may be sowing trouble for himself

By LISA BEYER



To listen to young Jabar and Hussein, privates in the Iraqi army, was to know the story of their country last week. A bag of spoiled dates—"food for cattle," Hussein called it—was their only sustenance as they plodded down a rain-sodden highway littered with ravaged tanks in southern Iraq. They had come from Basra, where a popular uprising against Saddam Hussein's government was under way. At one point in the fighting, Jabar and Hussein shed their uniforms and joined the revolt, but they grew faint-hearted when loyalist troops began shelling rebel positions. "We are for the people," said Jabar, "but if we desert, they will kill us." And so the dispirited soldiers changed clothes again and rejoined the army, which by the middle of the week had retaken most of Basra.

Still, rebellion smoldered in the hearts of the two soldiers, and it continued to flicker in more than a dozen southern cities. Also threatening Saddam's regime were si-

multaneous insurrections in the north, organized by Iraq's Kurds. From every indication, Saddam was preparing to avenge the transgressions mightily. "Everybody who tries to undermine security," said the Baghdad newspaper *Al Thawra*, "shall regret it. They will pay." But by lashing out at his own people, said Rear Admiral Mike McConnell, the Pentagon intelligence chief, Saddam "may be sowing the seeds of his own destruction."

That ought to sound like an answer to the allies' not-so-silent prayers. More than once President Bush has publicly exhorted the Iraqis to topple their leader. Yet what he and the allies had in mind was a palace coup, a change of regime "from the center in Baghdad," as one Saudi official put it, not a free-for-all in the provinces that might rip the country asunder. Such an outcome might be even less desirable, from the allied point of view, than an Iraq with Saddam still in control.

It remains unclear just where the agitation began, or when. But by early last week it had spread through the Shi'ite heartland, which was ripe for trouble. The Shi'ites

constitute 55% of Iraq's population of 19 million, but the minority Sunnis, who constitute only 20%, including Saddam and nearly all his aides, have long dominated the country politically.

At the height of the fighting for Basra, Western intelligence officials say, some 5,000 defectors from the regular army, angered that their leaders had brought them such inglorious defeat, faced 6,000 loyalists from the Republican Guard. The rabble-rousers also included a large number of Shi'ite fundamentalists, some of whom paraded portraits of Mohammed Bakr Hakim, Iraq's leading Shi'ite cleric. Hakim lives in exile in Iran and aims to install a Tehran-like revolutionary government in Baghdad; Iran's President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani last week called on Saddam's regime to "surrender to the will of the people." Hakim cheered the insurrection but denied assertions that he had orchestrated it. "What we're seeing," said a senior Western envoy in Riyadh, "is a case of spontaneous internal combustion."

By Iraqi standards, the rebels' acts of defiance were extraordinarily bold. Public

World



portraits of Saddam were defiled. Protesters scrawled down with the dictator on walls. Several jails were stormed, and their inmates freed. In Amarah the headquarters of the ruling Baath Party was reportedly torched.

Just what was happening in the north, home to most of Iraq's 3 million Kurds, was murkier. Kurdish rebels claimed to have taken Erbil, a provincial capital, as well as four other towns. They added that an entire army division had surrendered to them. Their assertions could not be confirmed, but intelligence photos did indicate ongoing fighting in the area.

Saddam bolstered support among his troops by hiking the pay of Republican Guard units a third and giving regular troops and police volunteers smaller raises. He also offered amnesty to army deserters, who would normally face death.

But at the same time, Saddam showed that he was as ready as ever to clamp down hard on his restive populace. He fired his Interior Minister and replaced him with a cousin, Ali Hassan Majid, who not only served as the governor of occupied Kuwait during Iraq's rape of the country but also al-

legedly supervised the gassing of rebellious Kurds in Halabja in 1988, killing 5,000. Baghdad also expelled all foreign journalists from the country, perhaps to eliminate witnesses to a coming bloodbath. Opposition leaders were terrified that Saddam would use chemical weapons against his own people once again. U.S. officials last week warned Iraqi diplomats in Washington and New York against such action. The diplomats said their government had no intention of using gas, but one Shi'ite

leader claimed it had already been used.

All the while, the victorious allies watched from the sidelines. Their paralysis was in part a political necessity. U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney noted that the coalition's U.N. mandate for action did not cover moving "inside Iraq [to] deal with their internal problems."

But even if the allies had had the freedom to maneuver, they lacked the will. "I'm not sure," said Cheney, "whose side you'd want to be on." Not the Shi'ite mullahs, certainly. The West has no interest in seeing Iran II in Iraq; nor do the gulf states, which have their own problems with Shi'ite restiveness. Supporting the Kurds would create a stewpot of problems as well. Turkey, an important constituent in the anti-Saddam team and a NATO member, fears that any gains made by Iraq's Kurds would embolden Turkey's own 8 million-member Kurdish minority, which has fought a bloody secessionist campaign for seven years. Syria, the Soviet Union and Iran also have large Kurdish communities that they prefer to see quiescent.

If the uprisings succeed, Iraq could find itself dismembered, with the Kurds running the north, the Shi'ites the south, and Saddam's Sunni faction relegated to the strip in between. That in turn might invite neighboring Turkey, Syria and Iran to take a bite out of the country. Thus the Lebanonization of Iraq would become part of the unhappy legacy of foreign involvement in the Middle East, a result the West is anxious to avoid.

Iraqi exile groups last week were busy trying to win backing for the uprisings, in part by playing down the threat of partition. The Joint Action Committee, an umbrella group linking 17 disparate organizations, asserted that its members were united in wanting a democratic, unified Iraq—though many of them want no such thing. The association, which includes several Shi'ite and Kurdish

groups, communists, Sunni nationalists and pro-Syrian Baathists, is riven with strife.

One hopeful scenario, from the West's vantage point, was that the chaos would provoke the army, or perhaps one of Saddam's Baathist associates, to grab power. "At some point," says a Bush Administration official, "somebody is going to say, 'The country is coming apart, and we have to put a stop to it.' And the way to do that is to remove Saddam himself." His would-be deposer, however, may have to move fast, while there is still a country to run.

— Reported by David Aikman/
Washington, Dean Fischer/Riyadh
and Scott MacLeod/Damascus



Soldiers in Baghdad: the allies hoped for a military coup

If the uprisings in the provinces succeed, Iraq may be dismembered.

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ARMAMENTS

Choose Your Weapons

Will hope of reducing Middle East arsenals be doomed by a shopping spree for arms, especially those showcased in the gulf?

By RICHARD LACAYO



Any postwar calculation of power in the Middle East must now reckon with two contradictory axioms. One is that most countries in the area support some form of regional arms control. The other is that they all want billions of dollars' worth of additional weapons for themselves. Though the trauma of facing down Saddam's war machine made clear the folly of Western and Soviet arms sales to Iraq, it also left Arab nations and Israel no less apt to conclude that happiness—or at least security—is a warm gun.

As he makes his swing through the Middle East this week, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker brings a further contradiction with him. In a region that is the most heavily armed in the world, the U.S. would like to see smaller arsenals on all sides. But Washington is poised to rearm its friends heavily, in some cases as the payoff for their membership in the alliance against Iraq. It doesn't help matters that Western arms dealers are ready to capitalize on a war that sometimes seemed like a giant trade show for smart bombs, Patriot missiles and F-16s. As the eager buyers reach out to the no less eager sellers, the chance for meaningful arms control slips away.

For now, the Bush Administration seems content to discourage chemical, biological and nuclear arsenals while assisting the conventional buildup. Last week it tightened Commerce Department regulations restricting the export of materials that could be used to produce chemical and biological weapons and missile-delivery systems. The new rules also apply to "dual use" chemicals and equipment, which have legitimate commercial uses but might serve in making chemical and biological weapons as well.

Two weeks ago, however, the White House informed Congress of its plans to sell advanced weapons worth \$1.6 billion to Egypt, including 46 F-16 warplanes and 80 air-to-ground missiles. The Administration describes the sale as the final part of a 10-year series that was an element of the deal in which Egypt agreed to the 1978 Camp David peace accords. The White House has also submitted a classified report informing Congress that it is considering more than \$18 billion in new military sales to Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel and

Turkey. Saudi Arabia alone would get a \$10 billion wish list that includes 25 F-15 fighters, 36 Apache attack helicopters, 2,400 Maverick missiles and 235 M1A1 tanks. For American defense contractors, these sales promise an escape from the gloomy fate spelled out in the budget package adopted by Congress last fall, in which U.S. defense spending is slated to shrink 25% over the next five years.

Israel is scheduled to receive more than \$3 billion in military aid from the U.S. this year. Meanwhile, its supporters

military outlays, which have already shrunk about 15% in the past three years. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has proposed a regional limitation on "nonconventional" weapons—presumably meaning chemical and biological—as a confidence-building measure between Israel and the Arab states. But so long as he gives no sign that Israel would bargain away its nuclear arsenal, Arab nations are unlikely to agree.

The Bush Administration knows that the U.S. cannot impose conventional-arms limitations on its own and that coordinated restraint by the major arms-supplying nations is essential. But Western defense industries, particularly in Europe, have become heavily reliant on exports to finance research and development of new weapons systems. France, which once sent a third of its weapons exports to Iraq, is



F-16: \$20,236,670



AH-64 APACHE: \$11,765,280



M1A1: \$3,734,884

in Congress will be closely watching any sales to Arab countries of weapons that might be turned against Tel Aviv or Haifa. But the alliance between the U.S. and Arab states during the war against Iraq has complicated matters. Last fall Israeli officials remained uncharacteristically silent when the U.S. provided Saudi Arabia with a multibillion-dollar infusion of advanced arms. Though pro-Israel lobbyists do not yet plan to oppose the sale to the Saudis, they are beginning to raise questions. "The Iraqi military machine no longer exists," says one. "Yet we're still willing to sell the same amount of stuff to the Saudis."

There are signs that Israel, hard pressed by the cost of absorbing hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants, is open to arms-limitation proposals that would help keep down its

seeking new customers. Britain hopes to sell Challenger tanks and Tornado aircraft to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

Though Soviet weapons were the duds of the gulf war, the Kremlin is also in the market to make arms sales. During a visit to Moscow last week, British Prime Minister John Major appealed to Mikhail Gorbachev for his cooperation. The Soviet leader is reported to have intimated that he would agree to an embargo against Iraq only for as long as Saddam remained in power. That may be the best anyone can hope for. Every major war in the Middle East has been followed by a major escalation in the regional arms race. This time, too, visions of a new world order may be no match for business as usual.

—Reported by Michael Duffy/Washington and Jon D. Hull/Jerusalem

Just checking.



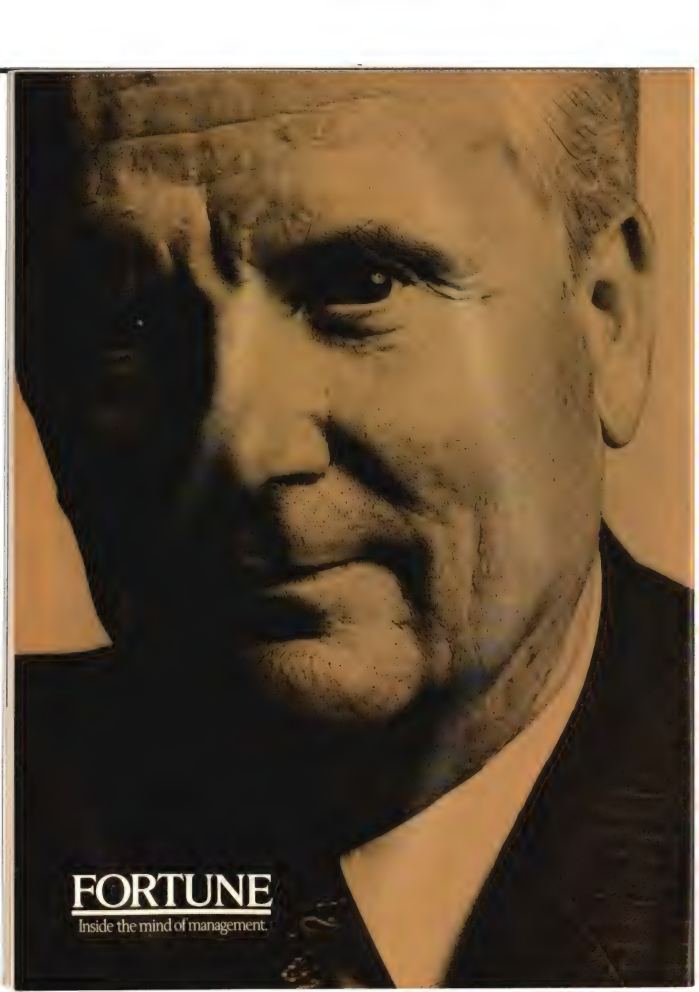
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SOVIET UNION

Operation Steppe Shield?

Washington is worried that a show of U.S. military muscle might be needed if civil war engulfs the U.S.S.R.

American intervention in a Soviet civil war? The thought sounds even crazier than—oh, say, a suggestion last Aug. 1 that the U.S. might send half a million soldiers, sailors and aviators to the Persian Gulf to fight a war against Iraq. But around the Pentagon and the CIA, the question is by no means dismissed out of hand: circumstances can be foreseen in which the dilemma would at least need to be addressed.

There is nothing farfetched about the idea that there might be a civil war in the U.S.S.R. Senior American intelligence officials believe there is a "very real" possibility of widespread disorder; several analysts compare 1991 with 1917, the year of the Bolshevik Revolution. A complete breakdown, they fear, could happen with stunning rapidity, perhaps in only 10 to 20 days. Says an assessment drafted last week: "Labor strikes in key sectors at the same time political and military power is being fragmented by [secessionist moves on the part of] republics, and even [individual] cities... could create a sudden economic collapse which could cause civil unrest."

Similar fears are being voiced in the U.S.S.R., and the approach of a nationwide referendum on March 17 has done nothing to ease them. President Mikhail Gorbachev is asking citizens to vote yes or no on preserving the union; the question is unsuitably worded virtually to demand a yes



Emblems of Russian sovereignty: flags and a strategic X

reply. A *Pravda* editorial posed the choice as "Union or Chaos."

Chaos seems likely in any case. Six of the 15 republics have refused to take part; Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have held their own referendums, denounced as illegal by Gorbachev, in which voters opted for independence by heavy margins. Other republics have, without sanction, altered the question or hooked others onto it. Citizens of the Russian republic will decide

whether to have a popularly elected President; if they say yes, Boris Yeltsin could win a popular mandate that would enable him to mount a stronger challenge than ever to Gorbachev. The central government has announced that it will not take no for an answer; if any republic returns a negative majority, it still would not be permitted to secede. Radical sociologist Boris Grushin writes that the referendum could begin "a balancing act on the brink of civil war."

As long as Gorbachev stays in power, George Bush will try to work with him. But Administration officials worry about what might happen if Gorbachev is replaced, or co-opted, by a military junta. Suppose, for example, the new regime attempted an outright conquest and occupation of the Baltics, which called on the U.S. for help? Or suppose it not only repressed internal dissidents but also canceled Gorbachev's plans to pull remaining Soviet troops out of Eastern Europe?

Some military and intelligence officers believe the U.S. should send a strong signal to discourage Soviet backsliding and ready plans in case it occurs. At a minimum, says National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, "given... the turmoil in the Soviet Union, this is not the time to decide that there's a completely new era and a U.S. presence can be removed" from Europe. Pentagon and CIA officials also have begun a careful evaluation of plans to redeploy units from the gulf. Some warships previously bound for home ports may be delayed. Officials hint that ground troops normally based in Europe but set to return to the U.S. will do so—but maybe not quite as soon as they would hope.

—By George J. Church.

Reported by Michael Duffy/Washington

SOUTH AFRICA

Back on The Stand

A once silent witness talks up and denounces Winnie Mandela

When he first took the stand last month, Kenneth Kgase, 31, refused to testify out of fear for his life. Last week, after pondering the possibility of being jailed for his silence, Kgase decided to talk. And what he had to say in Johannesburg's Rand Supreme Court against Winnie Mandela, the wife of African National Congress (A.N.C.) leader Nelson Mandela, resounded like a clap of thunder. Yes, said Kgase, Mandela and her bodyguards were guilty as charged: they savagely beat him and three other young black men

in her Soweto home in December 1988.

Prosecutors accuse Mandela and her guards of having abducted Kgase and the three others from a Methodist shelter and of then trying to pummel them into saying they had had sex with a white minister. Mandela says the youths were taken to her home only to protect them from the clergyman. The minister has been cleared by his church.

The courtroom fell silent as Kgase painted a devastating portrait of Mandela. He accused her of berating the four victims as "not fit to be alive" and then repeatedly punching them, despite their denials of homosexual conduct. "She asked me why do I make friends with white people?" said Kgase. At one point, he said, she struck him with a whip, "humming a tune and dancing to the rhythm." Kgase testified that some of the

worst beatings were reserved for James Mooketsi ("Stompie") Seipei, 14, whom Mrs. Mandela accused of being a police informant. The youth was later found dead. Jerry Richardson, head of Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards, has been convicted of the murder.

Although the A.N.C. has condemned the prosecution as "persecution," it helped draft a more cautious statement that said backers did not support Mandela "because she is involved in the present trial; we support her in spite of that fact."

The A.N.C. has been stung by speculation that it was responsible for the muzzling of Kgase last month, as well as the silencing of a second witness and the disappearance of a third. Some A.N.C. insiders fear that if the organization does not dispel that impression, its image will be tarnished.



Winnie Mandela

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World Notes

NICARAGUA

These Piggies Went to Market

Shoppers knew what was coming. In a burst of desperation buying, they emptied store shelves of anything that was for sale. Merchants knew too. Many of them closed their

The long-rumored shock therapy illustrated the year-old government's failure to stabilize a chaotic economy. Inflation, which last year topped 13,000%, is still out of control. To soften the devaluation's blow, most salaries were tripled and Chamorro promised not to fire any employees on the bloated state payroll.

Over the next two months, new gold cordobas worth 5 million old cordobas, or 20¢ each, will replace the piggies as legal paper tender. Chamorro publicly set fire to a small mountain of worn-out cordobas that had already been exchanged, then went shopping at a Managua supermarket armed with a supply of the new currency.



Money to burn: a stack of old currency

doors, preferring to be stuck with rotting merchandise rather than the worthless currency known derisively as "piggies." When the government of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro officially devalued the cordoba last week to a stratospheric 25 million to the dollar, most Nicaraguans were simply glad the waiting was over.

Chamorro's advisers know what is at stake. Says the President's son-in-law Antonio Lacayo: "If this plan fails, the government will have to go." The opposition Sandinista National Liberation Front's response: "They might as well start packing." The Sandinistas should know: their mis-handling of the economy helped sweep Chamorro into power.

ALBANIA

Futile Flight On the Adriatic

The refugees began turning up in southern Italy's fishing villages aboard commandeered vessels ranging from tugboats to freighters. In the space of six days last week, 20,000 Albanians fled worsening shortages of food and other essentials in their impoverished homeland and sought asylum across the Adriatic's Strait of Otranto. Startled local authorities in Italy did their best to provide temporary accommodations in schools and army barracks, but thousands of the Albanians were soon forced to camp out



Human flood: Albanian refugees jump ship in Brindisi, Italy

CHILE

Pinochet's Deadly Toll

During General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte's 17-year rule over Chile, few ever doubted the ruthlessness of his military regime. But last week a shocking report from the civilian government that succeeded Pinochet detailed for the first time just how murderous that regime had been. More than 2,000 political opponents were killed, the result of a "systematic policy of extermination" that included torture by electric shock, burning, asphyxiation and rape.

Last week's grisly accounting fulfilled a promise by President Patricio Aylwin to investigate past abuses, a pledge he made last year shortly after he was democratically elected. Whether anyone will ultimately be brought to justice remains uncertain. While still in power, the military decreed an amnesty that shields its agents from prosecution for political crimes committed between 1973 and 1978, and Pinochet, who remains head of the army, has warned against putting any of his men on trial. To help the nation heal its wounds, Aylwin is proposing giving financial compensation to the families of victims, including pension, health and housing benefits.



Chandrashekar: stepping down

INDIA

Revolving Doors

Ever since elections in 1989 produced no clear parliamentary majority, the world's largest democracy has been vying for the title of most unmanageable. Last week India's third Prime Minister in two years, Chandrashekar, resigned, annulling its minority government's four-month marriage of convenience with former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's dominant Congress Party. Immediate cause of the downfall: accusations that Chandrashekar allies set spies on Gandhi.

The latest row culminates an ongoing feud between the two men. Among other things, Gandhi has objected to Chandrashekar's efforts to open talks with insurgents in Punjab and Kashmir, his fiscal-austerity proposals and his decision to let U.S. warplanes bound for the Persian Gulf refuel in India.

on town docks, wrapping themselves in plastic sheets for warmth.

But not for long. Following an emergency Cabinet session in Rome, Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli declared that "this exodus cannot continue." The vast majority of Albania's visitors are "not political refugees but economic refugees," he said, and as such they fail to qualify for asylum under Italian law and will be returned home within a few days by Italian ships. That decision, doubtless influenced by Italy's 11% unemployment rate, was the most dramatic display to date of Western Europe's growing reluctance to receive waves of immigrants from the East.

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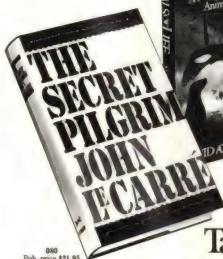
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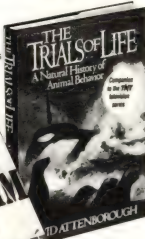
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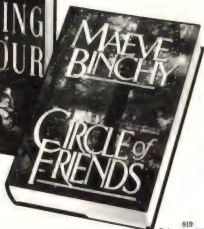
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BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®

The Buyers Are Back

As consumers regain optimism and the market for homes revives, the spring house-hunting season should bring quite a change from the winter doldrums

By JANICE CASTRO

► John and Lil Cronin listed their white Dutch colonial in Milton, Mass., at 1 p.m. one day last week. At 3, Lisa Looney drove up to take a look. She liked the place. By 6 the Cronins, who were asking \$210,000, had accepted a \$200,000 offer from Looney and her husband. Says broker Mary Sullivan: "We were astonished at how fast it moved. But that's the way it's been here. Our customer calls have doubled in the first six weeks of 1991 compared with a year ago."

► In Montville, N.J., homebuilder Hovnanian Enterprises had barely set up a sales trailer on the site of a planned housing project last month when buyers started lining up. Says spokesman J. Larry Sorsby: "We had no sample homes or models, and we sold the whole thing—78 homes—the first weekend."

► Stephen and Maureen Reynolds decided to buy their first home—a four-bedroom, two-bath, 30-year-old house on a scenic lot overlooking a ravine—as soon as they saw that the Desert Storm air campaign was a roaring success. Reynolds, who designs travel-industry software for a Houston firm, figured that if the war was going that well, his job was safe. Says he: "Interest rates were good, we had finally saved up the money, the war was coming to a quick close, housing prices were rising. The future is looking a lot better."

It certainly is. In large swaths of the

U.S., from Cape Cod to Los Angeles, from San Francisco to Long Island, in New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis and such depressed markets as Denver and Houston, signs abound that the long, bleak housing slump is easing. As the rebound percolates through one market after another, real estate agents, mortgage bankers and builders forecast a heartening home-buying surge this spring.

If you're suspicious of real estate industry hope and hype, listen to Barbara Allen, housing-industry analyst for Kidder, Peabody: "It's more than a little upturn. It's quite powerful, and it is across the country. In Chicago orders in the resale market for the first two months of the year were up smartly. In St. Louis the place is absolutely booming." Realtors who were doing the crosswords a month ago now have waiting rooms full of eager clients.

What's going on here? The U.S. is still slogging through a painful recession, and several major new economic measures fly in the face of optimism. Just last week the Bush Administration issued one of the most dismal housing reports since the depths of the 1982 recession: new-home sales declined 12% in January. At the same time, housing starts were down 13%. Sales of existing homes were off 7%, according to the National Association of Realtors. The Labor Department reported Friday that unemployment surged to 6.5% in Feb-

ruary, up from 6.2% a month earlier, in the biggest one-month increase in four years. Most economists expect the jobless rate to approach 7% in the next six months before falling off.

That doesn't sound like a recipe for a housing revival. But in a world that has seen a Middle East ground war waged and won in 100 hours, January—the month chronicled in those dismal federal figures—is ancient history. In the past few weeks, growing numbers of Americans have concluded that now is the time to look for a place to call their own.

The trend isn't growing evenly in all regions, to be sure, or in all sectors of the industry. Nationwide, however, a survey of 300 builders by the National Association of Home Builders found that nearly twice as many potential buyers were shopping at new subdivisions in February as in January. The Mortgage Bankers Association reported last week that mortgage-application volume during February more than doubled from what it had been in December. While most of that growth came from refinancing activity as homeowners traded down to lower interest rates, the remainder represents a significant pickup in buying.

Call it the Desert Storm surge. According to TIME/CNN polls conducted by Yankelevich Clancy Shulman, the percentage of Americans who think the U.S. is pulling out of recession jumped from 31% four weeks ago to 54% last week. More dramatically, 44% of those polled said last week



RANDALL ENDS FOR TIME

they expect economic conditions to get better in the coming year, while 15% expect them to become worse; those proportions have almost exactly reversed since January (see chart). Real estate agent Christine Gainey-Colombo was so discouraged by the industry slump in northern New Jersey that just a few months ago she was seriously considering giving up and returning to her former career as a nurse. Says she: "Last year you couldn't give a house away, but now the change is incredible. I put in 84 hours last week."

ReRe Avegno, a real estate agent in Metairie, a New Orleans suburb, remembers exactly when her phone started ringing off the hook: a few days into the allied air campaign, when it became clear that the U.S.-led forces in the gulf had gained the upper hand. As long as the possibility existed of a protracted and ruinously expensive war, many Americans were frozen in an anxious stasis in which they were delaying major financial decisions. Says John Tuccillo, chief economist of the National Association of Realtors: "With the flush of victory, people are going out looking for houses." Some have more to celebrate than others. In San Jose home sales have jumped an astonishing 42% since heavy rains arrived two weeks ago. Already buoyed by the war's end, some Californians are apparently beginning to believe their destructive five-year drought may finally be nearing an end.

An important reason for the new bounce in housing is the fall in mortgage interest rates. Testifying before Congress last week, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan noted that "fixed-rate mortgage interest rates are close to their lowest levels since the late 1970s." The Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation reports that on average across the U.S., lend-

During the next 12 months, do you think the economic conditions in this country will:



Jan. 10, 1991

March 7

TIME Poll by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman

ers are offering new customers fixed-rate 30-year mortgages at 9.49%, down from 10.67% last May.

Combine the lower rates with home prices that have fallen over the past several months and housing is suddenly more affordable than it has been in years. Making home buying still easier, some banks are requiring smaller down payments than they were a few months ago, figuring that mortgages on homes at current prices are among their safest loans. That confidence seems justified: in its most recent report, the Mortgage Bankers Association noted a sharp drop in mortgage delinquency rates during the fourth quarter of 1990.

Eager shoppers in some regions are creating a buying fever that feeds on itself. Says Jon Posner, a real estate agent in Westchester County, north of New York City: "There is an extraordinary amount of pent-up demand, and buyers have generally said, 'It may go lower, but I'm not going to wait and see.' Some tell me that it's not

important to get the absolute bottom price. It's like shopping for clothes. You see a suit you like, and you think the price may drop further, but on the other hand, it may get sold before that happens."

Randolph Marshall, 31, could not at first come to terms with the owners of the house he wanted to buy in Levittown, Pa. They did not want to accept a bid below \$139,000, and he would not offer more than \$128,000. Then, using a multiple-listing book, Marshall picked out 25 houses in the area that appealed to him. He was shocked to learn that all had been sold. Said he: "I got a little bit of buyer's panic." Marshall went back to the first home and last month signed a contract to buy it for \$135,000.

Like Marshall, most of the season's eager new shoppers are first-time home buyers who are purchasing existing houses. They are generally seeking dwellings priced below \$200,000. Says Posner: "People are looking at houses more as a shelter and less as an investment. They feel they are going to buy a house and they're going to live in it, and they don't expect to flip it over in a couple of years and make a bundle of money."

The most dramatic improvements in housing markets are probably in the South. Because the region has so many military bases, it was hit harder than other parts of the U.S. by the mobilization for the gulf war. Between August and January, while new-home sales fell at an annual rate of 10% in the Northeast, they fell 32% in the Southern states. Now the region will probably enjoy the healthiest rebound as many of the troops return Stateside filled with optimism about their futures and ready to invest in homes.

With all the talk about a glut of new homes and the depression in the construction industry, it's hard to believe that some experts predict a new-home shortage starting this year. But they do. The collapse of the savings and loan industry has slashed available capital at the same time that com-



mercial banks have tightened up on lending.

Barbara Allen of Kidder, Peabody estimates U.S. demand for new housing at 1.3 million to 1.4 million units a year for the next 10 years, including replacement housing. Yet little is being invested in land development, and as Allen points out, "You can't build a house unless you have a lot that has all the roads, permits and governmental O.K.s. It takes a long time."

Desirable new subdivisions are beginning to inspire occasional bidding frenzies. Would-be buyers during the past several weeks have taken to camping out in front of homes to ensure themselves a chance to bid. The Toll Bros. development company held a grand opening the first weekend in February for a new housing project southwest of Philadelphia—not that there was much to open. Only a single roof had been raised. Yet 400 people showed up the first day, and the initial 32 homes planned sold out within four days. When the company held an opening for a project near Washington the following week, buyers put down deposits on 14 of the first 20 homes.

A shortage of new housing will continue to boost demand for existing homes as more buyers compete for them. That will provide welcome relief to many homeowners who found selling distressingly difficult while prices were depressed. In Oak Park, Ill., Tom and Debbie Wagner put their house on the market last November after he accepted a job transfer to Ohio. Says she: "We must have had 100 people look at this house, but no one was buying." In February, when Tom left for his new job, Debbie had to stay behind with their three children. "It was getting real depressing," she recalls, "being here with three kids, all boys, and without my husband." Now that's over. Two weeks ago, they sold.

If the housing surge continues to gather momentum, as most industry economists seem to think it will, it can help to power the U.S. economy out of recession, in part by setting off a chain reaction of other purchases: furniture, linens, home electronics and all the other gear a home requires. Happily, the phenomenon seems to be affecting all regions. Even in areas like New England, which is still firmly in recession's grip, some of the better houses are selling as quickly as brokers can list them. At the Greater Boston Real Estate Board, officials say pending sales are up 55% for the first seven weeks of the year. In Wellesley, Mass., last week a broker was just taking out his hammer to put up his sign in front of a shingled Cape Cod overlooking a lake when a man emerged from the house. "Put the sign away," said the buyer. "It's already sold."

—Reported by Robert Ajemian/
Boston, Gisela Bolts/Washington and Jane Van
Tassel/New York

No Fuel Like A New Fuel

Environmentalism and war spur a race for gasoline alternatives

With its sleek, windswept contours, General Motors' two-seat Impact looks like any number of trendy sports cars. But the Impact is like no other vehicle on the road. It doesn't have a gas tank. It uses little oil. And it gets 120 miles with each fill-up. Miles ahead of its time, the Impact is an electric car that runs on 32 10-volt batteries. Since it burns no fuel, no tail pipes emit noxious fumes into the atmosphere. Though the car is experimental, GM last week announced it would produce

EASING GAS PAINS



Natural Gas

Compressed natural gas is for now the most practical alternative to gasoline. It is abundant and price competitive; cars need not be radically modified to use it.



Hydrogen

Hydrogen is the cleanest but most expensive substitute liquid fuel. Because of its cost it is probably not a feasible alternative until sometime in the next century.



Electricity

Electric-powered vehicles may be best for the environment, but they won't be feasible until the batteries weigh less and the vehicles' range and speed are greater. The needed research should take a decade.

it in a plant that can turn out 25,000 autos a year, signaling the company's most ambitious venture yet in electric vehicles.

With the Persian Gulf crisis as a fresh reminder that oil supplies are uncertain, interest in alternative fuels for vehicles is suddenly stronger than it has been in years. From automakers to energy companies, the race to develop a clean and dependable substitute for gasoline is in full gear. Chrysler recently unveiled a battery-powered prototype of its popular minivan. GM is experimenting with automobiles that run on methanol, a form of alcohol that comes from such sources as coal and wood. United Parcel Service recently tested delivery trucks that burn propane rather than gasoline. Mercedes-Benz has developed a prototype car that runs on hydrogen.

Perhaps the most promising alternative is compressed natural gas, or CNG. Although it yields lower mileage than gasoline, CNG is 20% cheaper overall because it burns cleaner and causes less wear on engine parts. The U.S. is virtually self-sufficient in the fuel, supplying nearly 95% of its needs. Modifying cars to run on CNG is much easier than adapting them to electric power: through replacement of the carburetor and fuel system, existing autos can be converted to burn CNG at a cost of about \$2,000. Carmakers can build CNG-fueled vehicles from scratch without major retooling. GM plans to manufacture about 1,000 pickup trucks that run on natural gas this spring, its first such vehicles.

Energy companies have been reluctant to invest in CNG fueling facilities because there were no vehicles to use them. Carmakers haven't built the vehicles because consumers wouldn't buy a car they couldn't refuel. Only about 250 U.S. service stations sell CNG (110,000 sell gasoline), but that could change, believes John Watson of Mitchell Energy in Houston. Says he: "The potential is great, but the people who will invest to build the infrastructure have to be convinced it's a winner. GM will be an impetus."

The history of alternative fuels is spotty at best. After the 1970s oil shocks, many auto and oil companies started ambitious programs to develop domestic alternatives to gasoline, but most of the projects withered as crude prices declined. The driving force this time around—new passion for the environment—may be more durable.

Before CNG, electricity or hydrogen can be considered a serious alternative to gasoline, the driving public must be won over. That job may seem tough, says Wall Street energy analyst Charles Earle. But take heart. Back when cars were powered by coal-fired steam boilers, he points out, people "once thought it wasn't possible for cars to run on gasoline either."

—By Thomas McCarroll.
Reported by Joe Szecssy/Detroit and Richard
Woodbury/Houston


You have an assignment.

Put together a
weekly sales report on
everything from power
mowers to miter boxes.

Cover current quotas
vs. planned goals.

Then list all POS data
from retailers in North &
Southeastern regions.

And by the way, it has to
be done by noon.



Things To Do

Get coffee and think this over.

Collect the information from everyone.

Make this report look terrific.

Microsoft Excel

Consolidate regional worksheets.

Total the sales report and then highlight regional sales.

Summarize results to produce a topline report.

Create my graphs and tables.

Microsoft Word for Windows

Get POS reports from Debbie.

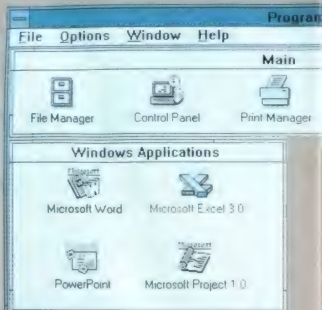
Open up weekly sales report template and start writing.

Use the outlining feature to move forecasts to end of report.

Get table from Microsoft Excel.

Ask Bob to copy and distribute.

Meet Donna for racquetball.



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9:00



9:00

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Things To Do

Microsoft Excel

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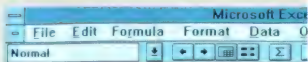
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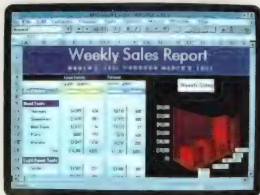


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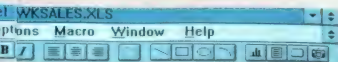


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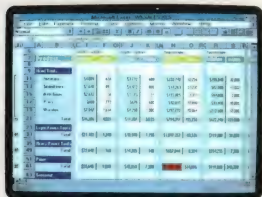
3. Select a range of cells and instantly transform them into a graph right on your worksheet. In just one step.

According to our calculations



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And the menu bar is like the one you use in the Windows environment.



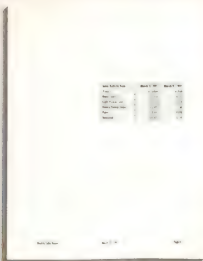
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10:00



10:00

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Things To Do

Microsoft Word for Windows

Get POS reports from Debbie.

Open up weekly sales report template and start writing.

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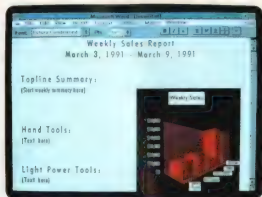
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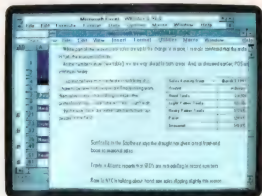


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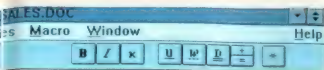


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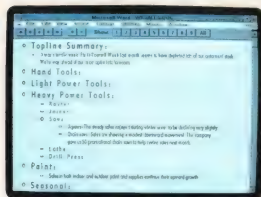
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Because after all is said and d



It visually represents commands and, as a result, reduces everyday formatting to just one step.

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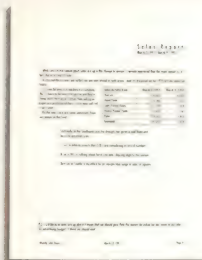
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11:00

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Rolling Out the Green Carpet

Gulf victors return to jobs, perks and other pleasures

A popular war sure has its pluses. While federal law ensures that the nation's 225,000 active reservists can go home to their old jobs—and paychecks—many companies and legislators want to do even more for the victorious troops, the first of whom are now returning. Congress is suddenly awash in bills that would award them all sorts of benefits: health care, increased G.I. Bill education benefits, better access to home loans. The House of Representatives this week may vote on a bill to raise combat pay, retroactive to Jan. 16, the day the war began.

Employers have been pitching in while the troops were away. In a survey of firms in seven large cities, 52% are paying their gulf-stationed employees, and 25% of those will continue until the troops are mustered out, according to William M. Mercer, a consulting firm. Even employers who can't be so generous are looking for ways to help. "State law does not allow us to pay the salaries of people who are activated," complains police chief Billy White of Tupelo, Miss., where several cops have been making considerably less as reservists

than their \$1,800 monthly salaries. "So everybody's been chipping in \$5 to \$10 to help out these families."

But with the war coming in the trough of a recession, some companies stopped paying reservists on active duty and were happy to lose the burden. At USAir, 140 pilots were called to the military, but that fit right in with the struggling airline's plans. It furloughed 211 pilots last year and will send an additional 600 their walking papers in 1991. Such companies may have trouble reabsorbing reservists who demand their jobs back, but experts don't expect the phenomenon to have much impact on the U.S. economy, largely because troops will march home in relatively small groups over many months.

With their jobs secure, the biggest



ILLUSTRATION BY JIMMY KIMBLE

Desperate Hours for MGM

Mystery mogul Parretti needs a Hollywood-size handout

How's this for action-packed cinematic adventure? Scene: the Los Angeles set of MGM-Pathé's comedy-thriller *Harley Davidson and the Marlboro Man*. It's the final phase of shooting, and volatile screen star Mickey Rourke has had enough. "Screw this!" he blurts out. "If I'm not going to get paid, then I'm not going to work!" Members of the film's production crew threaten their own wildcat strike five days later if they aren't paid. The panicked studio rushes paychecks to the set—by messenger.

Such drama is no longer rare at MGM-Pathé, the company formed when the mysterious mogul Giancarlo Parretti acquired MGM last fall. Parretti smiled broadly for the cameras as guest of honor at a \$250-and-up-a-plate charity dinner last month, shortly after asking studio creditors to take their long-delayed payments in weekly installments. He then flew to Europe in a frenzied quest for fresh capital.

How tight are things at MGM? The studio has delayed the release of two completed films, *Delirious* and *Thelma and Louise*, because it doesn't have the money to pay for prints and advertising. Such postponements are "unique and embarrassing," says Peter Bart, editor of *Variety*, Hollywood's top trade magazine. You can't blame Mickey Rourke and those crew members for worrying: some studio employees have seen their paychecks bounce. Parretti needs about \$250 million to cover operating costs, future marketing costs and release of the films now held up. To raise the money he is appealing to European investors and such banks as Credit Lyonnais, which has already extended a \$125 million credit line to MGM.

Parretti has faced ballooning troubles since acquiring the studio. He has been slapped with two lawsuits, one just two weeks ago, by producers who claim he sold the rights to shared properties—the Pink Panther films and the James Bond films—too cheaply. In January a court in Italy upheld an old conviction for fraudulent bankruptcy that Parretti has been fighting for nearly a year. The entrepreneur has also been shamed in Holly-



Imperiled Parretti

wood's most public court, the box office. All the films MGM has released since the acquisition (including *Rocky V*, *Noi Without My Daughter* and *Desperate Hours*) have been disappointments or outright flops.

Counting Parretti out would be a mistake. After all, he bought MGM from Kirk Kerkorian for \$1.4 billion despite deafening gossip that he would never come up with the dough. He has a long history of being dismissed and then, as an MGM insider puts it, "pulling a rabbit—even a roaring lion—out of the hat."

Parretti pins his latest woes on his being looked upon as an outsider and an Italian. Such bellyaching doesn't wash with Hollywood veterans, many of whom were on hand at last week's paparazzi-and-stars dinner in Parretti's honor by the National Council on the Aging. Parretti won the group's recognition after dining with council chairman Daniel Thursz and wondering aloud what the highest donations tended to be. "Oh, a few hundred thousand, I guess," remarked Thursz casually. A day later, Parretti promised the charity \$500,000—to be paid in five installments.

—By Richard Behar, Reported by Jordan Bonfante/Los Angeles

New York Life is large, conservative, and dull. Reassuring in times like these, isn't it?

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Business Notes

SCANDALS

Gone for Good—or Is It?

The Federal Reserve Board is pushing the scandal-tainted Bank of Credit & Commerce International—or at least those parts it can find—out of the U.S. Under Fed pressure, the Luxembourg-based bank, which pleaded guilty in 1990 to laundering millions in drug money, agreed last week to close its U.S. offices and give up its previously hidden interest in First American, a Washington-based bank holding company.

The move signals mounting troubles for First American's top officers, longtime Washing-



First American will be free of BCCI

ton power broker Clark Clifford and his law partner Robert Altman. They have been telling bank regulators for the past decade that BCCI did not control or

hold any financial interest in First American. But it seems BCCI may have still other U.S. operations. Federal investigators are probing its links to Independence Bank, which is in Encino, Calif., and owned by Saudi millionaire Ghath Pharaon, who has been involved in complex banking transactions with BCCI. In one, he purchased the National Bank of Georgia for \$18 million and nine years later sold it, along with two small Florida banks, to First American for \$200 million—a deal regulators are re-examining. ■

LITIGATION

Hitting the Jackpot

If living well is the best revenge, forcing your boss to fork over \$750,000 has got to be a close second. That is the amount Philadelphia-based brokerage Janney Montgomery Scott must pay

gambling-industry analyst Marvin Roffman, according to a decision last week by a New York Stock Exchange arbitration panel. Roffman's complaint: that Janney had fired him as a result of pressure from self-styled dealmeister Donald Trump.



Roffman

When Trump launched his colossal Taj Mahal casino in Atlantic City a year ago, a *Wall Street Journal* article quoted a skeptical Roffman as saying that "once the cold winds blow from October to February, it won't make it." Trump threatened to sue Janney if Roffman did not apologize. The analyst refused, and Janney dismissed him, citing "violations of company policy." As for Trump, whose Taj Mahal has felt the cold wind and is flirting with insolvency, Roffman is suing him for \$2 million. ■

TAXES

Look into Your Heart and Pay

Prisoners have been given charge in their own prisons, and condemned men forced to dig their own graves. Now the Internal Revenue Service is asking U.S. taxpayers to audit their own returns. In an experimental program, the IRS will send letters to 2,000 taxpayers in New England and upstate New York with incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000, asking them to correct suspected errors on their 1989 returns.

The letters will point out items the IRS questions. If you'd rather not audit yourself, the IRS will conduct a regular audit. If you find you erred, you're supposed to report it and pay the appropriate penalty and interest. And if you conclude that you're in the right, try to persuade the IRS.

If the experiment works, next year the IRS may ask filers to do self-audits without telling them which items are being questioned. The bottom line is saving money: if people are as hard on themselves as the IRS is, paying agents to go after them doesn't make much sense. ■

TELEVISION

Not a Pretty Picture

Cable-TV operators know all about static, but this was something else again. More than 600 local government officials sent a letter to every member of Congress denouncing the cable industry's "monopoly market power" and urging support for legislation that would reform the 1984 law partly deregulating cable TV.

Timed to coincide with this week's Senate Commerce Committee hearings on proposals to extend government control over the cable industry, the letter bitterly criticized sig-



Mayor James: cable TV gets bad reception

nal quality, response to service requests and "dramatic" rate increases. "Under the current statutory framework, we lack

ACQUISITIONS

A New Face At Revlon?

When Manhattan financier Ronald Perelman bought control of Revlon in a decidedly hostile 1985 takeover, he promised the treatment usually offered to the beauty behemoth's customers—a complete make-over. In the years following the death of founder Charles Revson, the legendary line's earnings and stock price had faded faster than a bad dye job. Perelman re-established Revlon as an industry leader by focusing on its best-known products: cosmetics.

Despite Revlon's about-face, Perelman is said to be looking for a new owner for all or part of his cosmetics kingdom, spurred by that ghost from the good times: debt. The company still bears an uncomfortably heavy \$2.1 billion of liabilities from the original buyout and more recent, high-profile acquisitions like Max Factor and Almay. Rumored shoppers include Paris-based L'Oréal and Cincinnati's Procter & Gamble. ■



Perelman

the authority to address many of these complaints," said the signers, led by Mayors Sharpe James of Newark, Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Raymond Flynn of Boston.

An industry spokesman dismissed the letter as "much ado about nothing" and implied that the officials are seeking more power, not better service. In cable's corner is the White House, which opposes reregulation of cable, hoping instead to address consumer complaints through the Federal Communications Commission. ■

Medicine

Cheaper Can Be Better

A study comparing heart medications raises questions about high-pressure tactics in drug marketing

By ANDREW PURVIS

The new heart drug hit the market in 1987 in a blinding flash of pitchmen, promotion and public relations hoo-ha. The product of biotech breakthroughs, TPA was touted as clearly superior to the competition, a clot-busting drug called streptokinase, on the market for 15 years. Though TPA (for tissue plasminogen activator) is 10 times as expensive as the older drug, the majority of U.S. doctors bought the pitch, and the new drug became the favored method of breaking up clots in heart-attack victims. Then last week an international team of researchers reported what some doctors had suspected all along: the fancy new medication appears to be no better at saving lives than plain old streptokinase. In fact, it seems to carry a slightly greater risk of causing strokes.

The saga of TPA is a glaring example of what some experts believe is a pervasive problem in American health care: how high-pressure marketing tactics by drug companies combine with the lure of a glamorous high-tech product to persuade doctors to adopt the latest medication, even when it offers no clear advantage. "Doctors are enamored of new technologies," says Dr. Stephen Schondelmeyer, director of the Pharmaceutical Economics Research Institute at Purdue University. "We have this attraction to 'new is better,' even though that is not always true."

Usually, the added cost of a new drug is justified by an obvious benefit. Second- and third-generation antibiotics, for instance, can work when older, cheaper antibiotics like penicillin fail. In other cases, a costly new drug may break new ground, as AZT did in treating AIDS.

But with TPA, the price difference was extreme—about \$2,500 a treatment vs. \$220 for a dose of streptokinase—while the advantages were murky. Several studies showed that the new drug worked more quickly to open up blocked arteries, but whether that really made a difference in patient survival was unclear.

Then why were U.S. doctors so quick to adopt



Clot busters' target: ensnared blood cells

the medication? For one thing, cost is still not a primary concern for many U.S. doctors. In Canada and Europe, where cost constraints and rationing of health care are a matter of course, TPA did not enjoy great success; streptokinase plus ordinary, cheap aspirin remain the standard ant clotting therapy. In addition, pervasive fears of malpractice suits in the U.S. add to the pressures on doctors to use the latest technique.

But the biggest reason TPA took off was the aggressive promotional campaign launched by its manufacturer, Genentech. The worldwide market for ant clotting agents, or thrombolytics, is estimated at \$600 million a year. To get a substantial piece of the action, Genentech relentlessly promoted its product not just to doctors and patients but to researchers as well. "I

have never seen anything like it," said Dr. Charles Hennekens, U.S. coordinator for the study released last week.

Genentech, Hennekens says, refused to participate in the international study, which compared TPA with streptokinase and a third thrombolytic called anistreplase, so a British-made version of TPA was used instead. Moreover, Hennekens says, when he tried to recruit doctors to participate, he found that some had been told by Genentech salesmen that using the other drugs in the trial could endanger their patients. Streptokinase, they were told, could cause cerebral bleeding, and anistreplase, which is derived from human plasma, was alleged to carry a risk of AIDS infection. Neither danger is significant, said Hennekens. Genentech denied any direct meddling in the trial and disputes the study's findings on methodological grounds.

Though TPA is a dramatic example, many heavily promoted new drugs offer only subtle advantages over cheaper alternatives. Dr. Sidney Wolfe, an outspoken consumer advocate in Washington, says that 70% to 90% of newly approved drugs are not important therapeutic advances. One example: substances called lower osmolarity contrast mediums, introduced in 1986. Used in taking diagnostic pictures of internal organs, they are believed to be only marginally safer than existing agents but are sold at up to 12 times the price.

Overzealous marketing practices in the drug industry have attracted attention in Washington. At a Senate hearing in December, critics cited a litany of abuses that seemed to cross the line between advertising and bribery. Roche, for example, paid doctors \$1,200 to prescribe a new antibiotic to 20 hospital patients in exchange for minimal information on the results of the

therapy. Another company offered free mileage on American Airlines for using Federal LA, a hypertension drug. Last week the recently appointed FDA commissioner, Dr. David Kessler, told the committee that regulating drug promotion would be a top priority in the coming year.

In an era when health-care costs in general are growing out of control, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the government, insurance companies and doctors to ignore the cost factor in medicine. And as patients bear more and more of the costs, they should realize that the latest, slickest new treatment is not always just what the doctor should order. ■

R FOR INFLUENCING DOCTORS

FREQUENT PRESCRIBER PLAN Wyeth-Ayerst Laboratories gives doctors 1,000 points on American Airlines' frequent-flyer program for each patient they put on the hypertension drug *Idral* LA.

PROFITABLE RESEARCH As part of a "study," Roche pays doctors \$1,200 if they prescribe the antibiotic *Rocephin* for 20 hospital patients.

BIG-SHOT PROGRAM In return for purchasing vaccines, Connaught Labs awards points redeemable for VCRs, personal computers and TVs.

COMPUTER FREEBIE Consortium of 10 drug companies provides doctors with free \$35,000 computer systems if they spend 20 minutes a week reviewing "promotional messages" and "clinical information" and complete four continuing medical-education programs a year.

BEACHSIDE BONUS Ciba-Geigy offers free Caribbean vacations to doctors in return for their sitting in on a few lectures about Estraderm, an estrogen patch.



Source: Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources hearings, December 1989



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Law

A Blow to Big Business

The Supreme Court upholds a punitive \$1 million jury verdict

On Jan. 23, 1982, Cleopatra Haslip was admitted to a hospital emergency room. While the diagnosis was disturbing—a kidney infection—Haslip rested more easily knowing that her insurance policy would cover her medical expenses. But she soon discovered that the insurance agent, Lemmie Ruffin, had pocketed her payments, leaving her with no protection. Haslip, a mother of five who made \$8,800 a year as an employee of Roosevelt City, Ala., found herself stuck with \$3,500 in medical bills. As a result, her credit rating was ruined and she was successfully sued by her doctor. Enraged, Haslip filed a lawsuit against Ruffin and his employer, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co. The jury was more than sympathetic: it found that Pacific Mutual had reason to suspect Ruffin's fraud, and awarded Haslip \$1 million, including \$840,000 in punitive damages.

In a decision that business groups found crushing, the Supreme Court last week upheld Haslip's judgment. The court found by a 7-to-1 vote that the large punitive-damage award against the insurance company did not violate the 14th Amendment's due-process clause. Writing for the majority, Justice Harry Blackmun conceded that "unlimited jury discretion ... in the fixing of punitive damages may invite extreme results that jar one's constitutional sensibilities." But, Blackmun concluded, "we need not, and indeed we cannot, draw a mathematical bright line between the constitutionally acceptable and the constitutionally unacceptable that would fit every case."



The victors: Haslip and her lawyers

Although business groups have met with failure in earlier attempts to seek relief from the court, they were heartened by indications that, given an appropriate case, the Justices might rule in their favor. Their disappointment last week was shared by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. "Juries are permitted to target unpopular defendants, penalize unorthodox or controversial views, and redistribute wealth," she wrote in a dissenting opinion. "Multi-million-

dollar losses are inflicted on a whim."

The weight of the decision fell most heavily on Big Business and the insurance industry, which pays most punitive judgments. In all, 80 industry and professional organizations had filed 24 amicus briefs on behalf of Pacific Mutual, claiming that punitive awards have soared because of unbridled jury discretion. "It's become a form of legal lottery," says Washington attorney Theodore Olson. "Plaintiffs ask for huge awards, hoping they'll hit the jackpot."

He has a point. Punitive damages are intended as a form of quasi-criminal retribution against wrongdoers in civil cases. They exist to deter future misdeeds. "Punitive damages are not intended to compensate the victim," says Edward Cooper, a professor at the University of Michigan law school. "Instead, they are meant to punish especially bad conduct." Such judgments are most often awarded in product-liability and personal-injury cases.

Consumer advocates applauded the court's decision. Linda Lipsen, legislative counsel of the Consumers Union, suggested that insurance companies and others "should spend more time figuring out how to make their products safe and less time trying to escape their responsibilities under law." Another happy group: plaintiffs' lawyers, who often receive a hefty percentage of punitive damages in contingency-fee cases against wealthy defendants.

In the wake of last week's decision, business groups are apt to step up pressure on state legislatures to limit the amounts of punitive damages. According to the American Tort Reform Association, 19 states have already set limits on punitive damages. But the only way to guarantee uniform rules would be through an act of Congress, which is highly unlikely.

—By Andrew Sachs.

Reported by Jerome Cramer/Washington

Milestones

EXPECTING. Chris Evert, 36, retired queen of tennis and now a television tennis commentator; and her husband **Andy Mill**, 38, former Olympic downhill skier: their first child; in October.

DIED. Lemuel Tucker, 52, well-traveled television reporter for all three major networks: of liver failure; in Washington. After he broke in with **NBC** in the 1960s, Tucker became one of the first black correspondents on national television and was an assistant bureau chief for **NBC** in Vietnam. He won two Emmy Awards for excellence in television reporting and since 1977 had covered political, science and medical news for **CBS**.

DIED. Howard Head, 76, inventor of the Head metal ski and the Prince tennis rac-

quet; in Baltimore. An aircraft engineer, Head helped design and build planes in World War II. In 1948 he applied his expertise to replacing the traditional bulky wooden ski with an aluminum model. The Head Ski Co.'s new product was as big a hit with the public as with the Olympic medal winners who used it. Following the company's sale in 1971, Head joined the Prince Manufacturing Co. and revolutionized the tennis racquet. His design improved the games of countless players by almost quadrupling the sweet spot of the racquet.

DIED. James ("Cool Papa") Bell, 87, fleet-foot baseball Hall of Fame fielder; in St. Louis. From 1922 to 1936 and from 1942 to 1950, Bell compiled an estimated .340 average in the Negro leagues as a pitcher and outfielder for nine different teams.

DIED. Arthur Murray, 95, world-renowned ballroom-dancing teacher; in Honolulu. Students mastered such dances as the rumba, fox-trot, waltz and bunny-hug the Murray way—with simple floor diagrams and the personal instruction of elegant teachers. Born Moses Teichman to Austrian immigrants who operated a bakery in East Harlem, New York, Murray sought to overcome shyness and an ungainliness by learning dancing from a girlfriend. In the 1920s, through a thriving mail-order business and studios, he capitalized on the dance craze sweeping the country. Among Arthur Murray students were Elizabeth Arden, Lowell Thomas and the Duke of Windsor. By his retirement in 1964, Murray had parlayed his nimble feet and business skills into an empire of 350 franchised studios that grossed \$25 million a year.

People

By EMILY MITCHELL/Reported by Wendy Cole



Her Way

Kitty Kelley, whose 1986 expose of Frank Sinatra caused *Ol' Blue Eyes* to have conceptions, is all set to stir up things at the Ronald Reagan household. Her unauthorized biography of **Nancy Reagan**, due this spring, was four years in the making, and so far, copies are being guarded like the formula for Coca-Cola. But leaks make it clear that the Reagans will not be Kelley admirers. Reportedly, there are accounts of *Ronald Reagan's* late-night drunken tumble with a Hollywood 19-year-old not long

after he had proposed to Nancy, his seeking out a one-time inamorata even as their first child, Patti, was born (he told her his life was ruined), his several facelifts and use of hair coloring, and his fondness for anti-gay and racist jokes. As for Nancy, Kelley calls her a "most complicated woman," but most of the complications are unflattering. Where did Kelley get her info? She conducted more than 1,000 interviews, but some of the more intriguing items were volunteered by Reagan aides and friends right after the couple left the White House in 1989.



Meanwhile, Back at the Ranch

KEVIN COSTNER may ride away with Oscars for *Dances with Wolves*, but he won't be the only prizewinner. **JUST PLAIN JUSTIN**, the eight-year-old gelding who is Costner's mount, Cisco, in the film, gallops off with the Silver Spur award from the American Quarter Horse Association this week. Owner Rusty Hendrickson, trainer of numerous film steeds, chose Justin for the role because of the "brilliance of his eyes. Like you can with people, you can see intelligence in a horse's eyes." Fans flock to Hendrickson's Montana ranch to get a peek at Justin, and many offer to buy him. Nope, says his owner, this is one Hollywood star who's just a family horse.

Top Toon

This just in from Frostbite Falls: the town's most famous—and endearing—citizens, **ROCKET J. SQUIRREL** and **BULLWINKLE J. MOOSE**, are out of the cold and hot as can be. Videos compiled from the 1960s cult cartoon are top sellers, even nudging Madonna aside, and—hokey smoke!—this month *PAS* is airing a special about the series called *Ol' Moose and Men*. For aging baby boomers, it's a trip to Moosylvania in the Wayback Machine—a time-travel device featured on the show. As Wossametta U.'s muzzy-headed moose once observed, "You can't beat the classics, I always say."



Twin Beaks

"You will be the definitive *Cyrano de Bergerac*." That's what **José Ferrer** told **Gérard Depardieu** when the actors first met two years ago, and it was prophetic. Last week Depardieu, 42, accepted a D.W. Griffith film award in Manhattan, and the presenter was good friend Ferrer, 79, a 1950

Oscar winner for the same role that got Depardieu a Best Actor nomination this year. Depardieu considers Ferrer his "good-luck charm." Who's best? "We're not prizefighters," says Ferrer. "An actor should not be trying to win a race; he should be trying to be as good as he can be." And keeping his nose to the grindstone.

Corgi and Bess

The royal hand that rules Britannia is no safer than a mail carrier's leg when it comes to obstreperous canines. **Queen Elizabeth** learned that last week when a dogfight erupted while she strolled around Windsor Castle with a pack of pet corgis. She waded into the melee to break it up, and a disloyal beast bit her left hand, drawing blue blood. Her Majesty required three stitches and wore bandages as she went about her duties. She is often accompanied by her regalia of the breed—palace watchers call them her "pud-dle of corgis"—and puts



down their food daily. The guilty pooch has not been named, but hardly a single reporter failed to note that it had bit the hand that...



Fashion Army

The chic can sleep soundly to night, knowing that the generals of style have gone to full alert. On fashion's front line, the mood is distinctly military. In Paris, Chanel's **Karl Lagerfeld** has whipped up a corps of coats and jackets with bright brass buttons and martial bearing. Says he: "I wanted to create a military look for an army of peace." In the U.S., designer **Andre Van Pier** exults that "patriotism is in." He has put his hand to an entire line of camouflage clothing that would send a quartermaster reeling in disbelief. And in those colors, where could you hide?



Going Ape

The King of the Apes is back on the vines. For a TV series that begins this fall, actor **Wolf Larson**, 32, gets into his role by pumping iron for two hours each day and even taking trapeze and archery lessons. Starting next week Larson will take to the trees on location in Mexico. Of course, he'll still be wearing the familiar loincloth, but the new Tarzan is an updated hero, showing an interest in issues like jungle deforestation and elephant poaching. Otherwise, says Larson, he's like many Tarzans of yore: "He lives alone in a tree house, and he doesn't live with Jane." A swinging single?



Legal at Last

Devotees of **Bob Dylan's** music feared they'd go on forever straining to hear hard-on-the-ear copies of his pirated recordings. After listening to an exceptionally bad unofficial taping, even Dylan got upset. If it's going to be bootlegged, he reasoned, it ought

at least to sound good. Presto! Prized demos, outtakes, plus smuggled tapes from concerts and coffeehouse gigs will be released this month on Columbia's 58-song *Bootleg Series*. On one number, Dylan can be heard asking, "The voice is gone, man. You wanna try it again?" The times they have a'changed—but not all that much.



Scandal in the Laboratories

Inquiries at Stanford turn a harsh light on how university research is funded

By SUSAN TIFFT

The earthquake that rocked San Francisco almost two years ago did \$160 million worth of damage to nearby Stanford University. This week tremors of a different sort threaten to rattle the elite Palo Alto-based institution—and dent its coffers by as much as \$200 million. On Wednesday, Michigan Democrat John Dingell, chairman of a House investigative subcommittee, is to hold a daylong hearing on allegations that throughout the 1980s, Stanford routinely overcharged taxpayers for millions of dollars in research-related expenses.

No fewer than four federal agencies are looking into the creative-bookkeeping practices that enabled the university to bill Uncle Sam for depreciation on a 72-ft. yacht; faculty discounts on tickets to athletic events; and a percentage of the cost of flowers, bedsheets, tablecloths and antiques for the president's house. In January, Stanford agreed to refund \$500,000 in government money used to maintain three university-owned houses, including the president's, and to pay back more than \$180,000 on the yacht, a charge that the school said was an accounting error. But Dingell, who has hyperbolically likened Stanford's deeds to the defense-contractor scandals of the 1980s, wants to use the transgressions to stir debate on the lack of accountability in the government-university relationship. "At a time when U.S. scientific efforts are falling behind," says Dingell, "to have research money spent frivolously is simply not acceptable."

Stanford's predicament raises troubling questions about how the government and universities spend taxpayer dollars intended for scientific research. This week's hearing is expected to focus not only on Stanford's questionable accounting practices but also on the agency that monitored the school's federal contracts, the Defense Department's Office of Naval Research. That group failed to audit thoroughly Stanford's overhead costs for almost a decade. Says Middlebury College President Timothy Light of the current system for underwriting university-



based research: "It's a ghastly mess."

At the center of the maelstrom is a set of arcane rules, installed gradually after World War II, that turned the Federal Government into America's primary sponsor of university research. Under these regulations, the government foots the bill for research and many of the overhead costs of doing research. These so-called indirect costs, which are not attached to any single project, include university-wide expenses like administration, libraries, roads, utilities and building maintenance. Every university charges the government a different rate for overhead, based on such considerations as geography, which determines a school's energy and wage costs, and the size and age of its facilities. The rates are set during periodic haggling sessions with one of three U.S. agencies: the departments of Defense, Energy, or Health and Human Services.

Stanford's 74% overhead rate was among the highest in the country (it was recently slashed to 70%), in part because the school was unusually aggressive about recouping every nickel it could. "I expect our controllers to do their best on behalf of the university," says Stanford President Donald Kennedy. Some



would argue, however, that Stanford's controllers were overly zealous in their quest for money. Defense Department auditors say the university has been so uncooperative in the investigation that they threatened last week to turn the matter over to the Justice Department.

Defenders of the funding system hasten to note that a 74% overhead rate does not mean that 74¢ out of every research dollar is spent on library books and electric bills. Under government regulations, universities are prohibited from applying overhead rates to certain research-related expenses. Equipment purchases, for instance, are not permitted in the total; neither are subcontracts over \$25,000. Thus if a Johns Hopkins professor gets a \$100,000 grant to cover his direct costs of research, he may be able to apply his school's indirect-cost rate—65%—to only \$60,000 of it, making the tab for overhead \$39,000. Consequently, the university would receive a total of \$139,000 in government funds.

Nor do low indirect-cost rates necessarily add up to a better deal for the public. The University of Wisconsin at Madison, for instance, has a rate of just 44%, but that is partly because state taxes help cover the cost of buildings, heat and other overhead

expenses connected with research. Taxpayers still pay the bulk of the bill, just as they do at Stanford; there are simply more state tax dollars in the mix than at a private school. Rates are typically lower at public institutions anyway. Unlike Cornell or M.I.T., these schools have little incentive to comb federal guidelines for every allowable expense since, in some states, most of the overhead recovered from the government

cal years 1983 through 1988 and did not audit 1981-82 at all. Worse still, during that time it signed off on 125 "memoranda of understanding," formal agreements that exempted Stanford from accounting standards the government imposes at other schools.

Washington also shoulders some blame for creating the impossible tangle of rules that govern overhead reimbursements. "It's important to remember that the same people who produced the tax law produced this horrible cost-recovery system," says Robert Zemsky, director of the Higher Education Research Program at the University of Pennsylvania. Even those schools that are determined to redeem allowable expenses say it is too complicated and time consuming to try to reclaim the full cost of doing research.

Administrators point out that private industry charges overhead rates well over 100%, making university-based projects a relative bargain. "We're not looking at a situation where people are getting rich," says former M.I.T. Provost John Deutch. "This is not like Michael Milken." Despite an overhead rate of 77%, for example, Harvard Medical School in 1989 still had to finance 17% of research-related indirect costs out of its own pocket. The rate has since soared to 88%, and Harvard Medical is now asking government negotiators to agree to an even more mind-boggling figure: 104%.

Lurking behind the debate about out-of-sight overhead rates and suspicious

sounding bills for flowers and bedsheets is a deeper issue: the high cost of modern research. During the Sputnik era, Washington launched an ambitious university building program, which it abruptly abandoned in the late 1960s. Since then, private universities have had to raise their own construction and renovation funds. At the same time, they have had to grapple with unrealistic government regulations that require them to write off building costs on a 50-year timetable, despite the fact that most scientific facilities outlive their usefulness in just two decades.

In order to recoup some of the skyrocketing costs of erecting new labs and technical libraries, schools have become increasingly aggressive about billing Washington for overhead. It is no accident that Stanford's indirect-cost rate jumped 16% from 1982 to 1990, a period that coincided with a building boom on the campus. At some schools, reimbursements for overhead have come to account for alarming chunks of the budget. In fiscal 1990, Stanford relied on federal overhead to make up 22% of its operating funds. "They're hooked," says Middlebury's Light. "They've become dependent on the research money for regular functions."

The government, meanwhile, faces a budget crunch that makes it less willing than ever to help universities expand or update their scientific infrastructure. "The National Science Foundation and others are saying, 'If we've got to set priorities, we'd better do the substance,'" says Joseph Gilmour, vice president for strategic planning at Georgia Tech.

Administrators fear that this week's hearing may turn into a university-bashing free-for-all. If that happens, Congress may move to limit sharply what can be considered a legitimate overhead expense, or anxious research institutions may have to cap their indirect-cost rates—or both. Closer regulation of indirect-cost charges is obviously needed. But for schools already squeezed by the recession, declining enrollments owing to the baby bust and outrage over high tuition costs, yet another budgetary constraint could prove devastating. "Universities are fragile places," says Marvin Ebel, associate dean of the graduate school at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. "They don't operate with big cushions. Bad years can lead to some real destruction."

For the near term, universities had better be prepared for tighter belts and closer scrutiny. Already the General Accounting Office is delving into overhead charges at Harvard Medical School. And this spring Dingell's subcommittee plans to initiate similar probes at M.I.T., Johns Hopkins, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California. The aftershocks of the Stanford tremors are certain to be felt for some time to come.

—Reported by Katherine L. Mihok/Palo Alto and Nancy Traver/Washington



Questionable items: a yacht and part of the tab for antiques and furnishings for the home of university President Donald Kennedy, above

goes into state coffers, not the universities'.

The items that schools include in their overhead bills vary widely. Columbia, Harvard, M.I.T. and Cornell argue that their presidents' residences are part of "general administration" in support of research, and they charge the government anywhere from 14% to 68% of the maintenance costs. Other universities, such as Yale and Johns Hopkins, consider the amount involved too small to bother recovering from the government. Unlike those for Stanford's yacht, such charges are legal. Still, they are difficult to defend. "The public doesn't think the president's mansion ought to be shifted to the research budget," says Norman Scott, vice president for research and advanced studies at Cornell. "It doesn't smell good."

The Federal Government is supposed to audit a university's overhead charges every two or three years. In the case of Stanford, however, the Office of Naval Research did not adequately check claims and receipts for fis-



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The State of Kuwait and its People

Art

Modernism's Russian Front

The birth of abstraction is illuminated in the energetic work of two compatriots

By ROBERT HUGHES

Sometimes, as though by a benign but unforeseen planetary conjunction, exhibitions in New York City will light one another up. So it is with the present retrospectives of two of the leading figures of Russian modernism: Kazimir Malevich (1878-1935) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Liubov Popova (1889-1924) at the Museum of Modern Art.

Malevich, inevitably, comes out as the more powerful artist (which is not at all to denigrate the brilliant gifts of Popova). His show was seen in Moscow, Amsterdam, Washington and Los Angeles before arriving in New York, but it has special resonance in Manhattan because of the city's history as a forcing bed of abstract art. No single artist "invented" abstraction, but Malevich was certainly one of the first to set forth its claims as a visual language. It was Malevich who did for abstract painting what Picasso, in *Les Femmes d'Alger*, did for the figure. His emblematic work (for Americans) was *White Square on White*, 1918—that unreproducible, fierce, magical white square, canted on a slightly warmer white ground, which has been in the Museum of Modern Art since the '30s and has become a central icon of the reductive impulse. But now we see in depth what went before and came after it: a fascinating spectacle.

One should think of Malevich as an iconmaker. He did. He was a very Russian, a kind of staret, or holy man, filled with chiliastic dreams of the future of art, with an eye for promotion and a remarkable ability to get under the skin of other artists. His decisiveness was amazing. A weak start—some feeble pastiches of Impressionism, and then a brief phase of yearning Symbolist mystagogy. But then the impact of Fauvism kicked in around 1910, and there was no stopping him. With a kind of relentless metabolic energy, Malevich started grinding through the styles of the Pa-



ICONMAKER

His theories were elusive, but in works like *Suprematism (Supremus No. 50)*, 1915, Kazimir Malevich created paintings as decisive as razors. The forceful arrangement of planes has an almost heroic daring. The self-portrait was painted earlier, in 1908 or 1909.

risian avant-garde, producing unmistakably Russian paintings as he did so. "I remained on the side of peasant art and began to paint in the primitive spirit," he wrote later. The bulky twisting serfs in *Floor Polishers*, 1911-12, are the laboring cousins of the ecstatic figures in Matisse's *La Danse*, 1909, and the red-hot metallic forms of *The Woodcutter*, 1912, are a Tolstoyan version of Léger's "tubism." *Aviator*, 1914, plays with the standard emblems

of Cubism—printed words, a hat, an ace of clubs. But it has to be the only Cubist painting with a sturgeon in it.

A vigorous partisan in the art groups of Moscow before, during and after the revolution, Malevich invented a new art movement, consisting essentially of himself: Suprematism. It was based on a slippery idea with vast meaning to him, *zaum*. It meant "beyond reason": *zaum* stood for a dismantling of artistic conven-

tions, for putting imagination into free fall and thus, Malevich believed, becoming one with nature: "Nature's perfection lies in the absolute, blind freedom of units within it." One joined nature in its absoluteness by painting abstractly. However cloudy Malevich's voluble theories are, his Suprematist paintings are as decisive as razors: those forceful, exquisite arrangements of planes, asserting their aesthetic self-sufficiency on a white ground (which was also the celestial white background of Moscow icons) have an almost heroic daring, which he would push still further in the plain black crosses and black squares of the '20s.

And then came the ice of



COLORIST

Liubov Popova explored illusions of depth and energy. In *Painterly Construction*, 1920, the shapes and cones play across what is clearly a landscape in turmoil.

Tainted Love by the Dye Vat

A Chinese drama is lauded in Hollywood but banned in Beijing

Stalinism, the crushing of the cultural avant-garde. Malevich retracted; he went back to painting cutouts of peasants in the field; his last picture, from 1933, is a realist self-portrait in which the primary colors of Suprematism are shifted into the panels of the costume he wears. He looks like Christopher Columbus, as well he might.

Unlike Malevich, Liubov Popova died young—scarlet fever got her in 1924, before Stalin's purges could. She was only 35. At least she was spared the miseries of censorship and persecution visited on other Russian avant-gardists by Stalin. Moreover, she died at a time when it was still possible for an idealistic, exuberantly gifted young artist like herself to believe in the promise of Leninism. Her last works, such as the 1923 collage stage design for a play about the revolution called *Earth in Turmoil*—showing a helmeted aviator, prototype of the new Soviet Man, gazing at a gaggle of photographs of Czars and White Russian officers pasted on upside down and annulled by a white X—are hopeful agitprop, infused with the same clean sharp humor that ran through the work of her German contemporary, the Dadaist Hannah Höch.

All the same, Popova's talents as a painter could hardly have grown as fast and as confidently as they did without the security of her liberal, upper-middle-class background, the way of life the revolution mercilessly crushed. She was the adored child of a rich Moscow textile merchant, whose money enabled her to go to Paris in 1913 and study under those secondary Cubists, Jean Metzinger and Henri le Fauconnier. Even her student work—the big studio nudes in a Cubist idiom represented in the show—has striking analytic toughness. Its painted planes, jutting and curling in imagined space, become literal in 1915: painted cardboard still-life sculptures inspired by Archipenko.

But sculpture was basically too material an art for Popova. A gifted colorist, she wanted to explore what illusions of visual depth and energy a flat surface could contain. One sees this ambition unfolding phase by phase with a steadfast, though unprogrammed, logic. Malevich catalyzed her in 1915, but her series of "Painterly Architectonics" is by no means an imitation of the look of his Suprematism. They are equally inspired by the planes and colors of ancient Russian and Islamic architecture; she married an architectural historian and went as far afield as Samarkand. Occasionally her work strikes an apocalyptic, Kandinsky-like note. One example is the great *Painterly Construction of 1920*, with its jagged black shapes and whirling cones of force playing across a landscape in turmoil. But generally the keel of feeling is even, the track straight as an arrow. Here was a determined young painter following her nose, with a passionate sense of the edge where formal research bursts into sparks and arpeggios of lyric feeling. ■



Ju Dou (Gong Li) makes her move on Tianqing (Li Baotian)

Trying to liberate the captive nation of her heart.

By RICHARD CORLISS

Sometimes people don't notice a good movie until somebody had steps on it. To Western eyes, Zhang Yimou's *Ju Dou* might seem to be just another pretty retelling of a familiar triangle: a young woman, her elderly husband and her lover. *Ju Dou* plays like *Phaedra* mixed with *The Postman Always Rings Twice*—until the woman bears a son who grows ripe with vengeance, and the movie becomes a bitter *Bad Seed*.

But *Ju Dou* was nominated for a foreign-film Oscar last month; the Chinese authorities insisted that it be withdrawn from consideration. (The Motion Picture Academy rejected the demand.) Nor have the Chinese allowed the film to be shown publicly on the mainland, though it has played to acclaim elsewhere in the Far East and in Europe. Suddenly, this spare melodrama acquired political significance. Zhang, 40, whose previous film, *Red Sorghum*, made him the brightest light of emerging Chinese cinema, became both an international cause célèbre and a man without a local audience. "To get *Ju Dou* past the censors," Zhang says, "I have agreed to consider recutting some parts. But I never heard back from them."

If the movie seems enshrouded by fate, so are its characters. Jinshan (Li Wei) runs a dye factory in northwestern China in the 1920s. This vile old man has taken a young wife, Ju Dou (Gong Li), who is made a slave to his viciousness. In bed he gags and

harnesses her and rides her like a donkey, and the night bleeds with her shrieks. But the degradations stir Ju Dou's willfulness and sensuality. Now she undresses before the avid eyes of Tianqing (Li Baotian), her husband's adopted son. By abandoning herself to him, she hopes to liberate the captive nation of her heart.

The story is primal, and so are Zhang's cinema strategies. Everything is told through gestures and colors. In the undressing scene, the beautiful Gong Li (who is the director's offscreen companion) wordlessly expresses the range of Ju Dou's feelings, from shame to rebellion to cool majesty. And with its sen-

suous color scheme—reds, yellows, blues, in bold and subtle tonalities—*Ju Dou* looks like a dream of carnage at sunrise. When the couple make love by the dye vat, a long bolt of red fabric unravels past Ju Dou's face: an ornament to her ecstasy and a hint of the blood to be spilled. The lovers cannot wash out the stain of their passion. This is a movie about taint.

Ju Dou is an austere thriller with one lingering mystery: Why was it shelved? Did the old husband—brutal, impotent, self-deluding—offer the Chinese rulers a disturbing mirror image of themselves? Did Ju Dou's child—twisted, ruthless, utterly inhuman—remind the authorities uncomfortably of the '60s Red Guard? Maybe the film was deemed too sexy for Chinese viewers. Though not much flesh is exposed, *Ju Dou* is a powerful essay on sexual longing, grounded in time-honored dramatic elements: fire, water, pain and lust.

China's film bureaucracy is notoriously stubborn. But Zhang, who as a young man sold his blood to buy his first camera, is determined to keep making films at home. "I don't think I could go on with my work abroad," he says. "Where could I find a place overseas that looks like the Chinese countryside?" That is the capping irony: China never looked more ravishing than it does through Zhang's camera eye. The censors never looked more myopic than when they suppressed and orphaned the most intelligently gorgeous film since *The Last Emperor*.

—With reporting by Jaime A. FlorCruz/Beijing

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Food

Belt Tightening a Few Notches

In the homey '90s, caviar is out and turnips are in, as restaurant-goers look to their wallets as well as their menus

Food as entertainment was a fad of the ostentatious '80s, but yesterday's foie gras has become today's mashed potatoes. In a time of recession, diners are still serious about what they eat, but they look hard at their wallets before perusing the menu. Aware of this, restaurateurs are combining ingenuity with unpretentious ingredients to come up with dishes that are easy on both the palate and the pocketbook.

As the craze for chic cuisine has calmed, there is a renewed taste for homey—and less expensive—staples of the past. Put plainly, the croissant is out and the

restrained version of her Northern Italian dishes. Cod, braised and served with a sauce of leeks, sherry and smoked bacon, replaced grilled swordfish. In the main dining room, it's all wild mushrooms and truffle oil; in the café, the fungi are tame and the oil is olive.

If there is one U.S. city where people live to eat out, it is New Orleans. Businessman Tripp Friedler and chef Larkin Selman reopened the intimate Gautreau's there just as the economy fell like a soufflé in a cold draft. Their formula: combine more expensive main dishes with less costly

garnishes, and visa versa. An appetizer of crab cakes, for example, is accompanied by marinated black beans. Caviar is not out of the question, but it comes from a local fish called choupique (pronounced shoe-pick) and is said to be as good as any other American kind and is a lot cheaper than the Russian variety.

Even though the restaurant business "moans about how tough the times are, things have never been better for customers," says Tim Zagat, who with his wife Nina publishes annual restaurant surveys of 20 cities and areas. He believes there is a greater selection than ever of high-quality, affordable dining places. In recognition of that, the 1991 Zagat guide to Southern California restaurants lists the "Top 100 Bangs for the Buck," inaugurated in the New York edition a few months ago. For the first time, formerly unfashionable cafés and family-style restaurants are ranked for value with the same care afforded



Gautreau's Friedler, Selman and fare

Crab cakes, chicken and mashed potatoes.

doughnut is in, and the same goes for restaurant fare. At some haughty spots like New York City's four-star Le Cirque, the humble turnip is increasingly turning up in soups and as a side dish. *Addio*, radicchio.

Some restaurants have undergone full-blown conversions. The 10-year-old Courtyard in Austin closed last year, and when chef-owner Gert Rauch reopened it as the Courtyard Grill, he had done away with grilled pheasant breast with shitake mushrooms in favor of more casual food, such as marinated duck with warm cabbage salad. In Cambridge, Mass., Michela Larson added a glass-enclosed café atrium to her restaurant, Michela's, which serves a

Spago or Lutèce. A wedge of oilielberry pie at Russell's, an inexpensive Long Beach, Calif., eatery, is deemed "a slice of pure heaven." Not far away is the Shenandoah Café, where patrons "love those apple fritters."

"People aren't eating out less," says Ronald Paul, president of Technomic Inc., a Chicago-based market-research firm. "They are just seeking better value." If, as the French gourmand Brillat-Savarin observed, you are what you eat, these days Americans are down-home, comfortable, just plain folks—but not to be taken for granted.

—By Emily Mitchell.
Reported by Laura Clavette/New Orleans and Janice M. Horowitz/New York

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"Jack, Wrench, Hubcap, and Nuts"

The intimate journals of John Cheever are full of conflicts about marriage, writing, drinking and sex

By STEFAN KANFER

When John Cheever died in 1982, he left a legacy of 12 books. Eleven cannot fail to enhance his reputation; one is likely to erode it. *The Journals of John Cheever* is not scheduled to be published by Knopf until November, but four long excerpts have already appeared in the *New Yorker*. They have occasioned more chatter and speculation than anything the author published in his lifetime, because they reveal a private face entirely unlike the mask that Cheever contrived for public view.

The gossip is certain to intensify next month, when *Treetops* (Bantam; \$19.95), a book by Cheever's daughter Susan, arrives in bookstores. The volume is ostensibly a history of her mother's extraordinary family: one member was Alexander Graham Bell's assistant; another went to the Arctic with Admiral Robert Peary. But Susan finds it impossible to keep her father offstage. A friend is asked, "So, do you think he was a monster?" Mary, Cheever's wife, wonders, "Maybe he was wicked."

In his 1961 book, *Some People, Places and Things That Will Not Appear in My Next Novel*, Cheever made a list of subjects he considered off limits. Some seemed frivolous: "All parts for Marlon Brando." Others contained a mix of irony and rue. The author would shy away from explicit scenes of sexual commerce: "How can we describe the most exalted experience of our physical lives as if—jack, wrench, hubcap, and nuts—we were describing the changing of a flat tire?" He would disdain alcoholics: "Out they go, male and female, all the luses; they throw so little true light on the way we live." And homosexuals were to have no place in his pages: "Isn't it time that we embraced the indiscretion and inconstancy of the flesh and moved on?"

Later Cheever dealt with some of these proscribed items, but never in the tone of

the journals. Here they appear in a harsh floodlight, personified by Cheever himself. The author's idiosyncrasies are no longer secret: in *Home Before Dark*, Susan's ambivalent 1984 memoir, her father is described as "the worst kind of alcoholic." Her brother Ben, who edited a volume of Cheever's letters, recalled that John was "bisexual all his life... He liked good-



John, Mary and Susan Cheever in 1976: "What emerges are two astonishing contests, one with alcohol and one with my wife."

looking younger men." Still, these were posthumous comments, made by members of the family that Cheever alternately cherished and regarded as a self-inflicted wound. In his notebooks, the author discloses himself in passages that seem to have been meant for an audience of one.

"Drank a good deal of whiskey, trying to relax," he begins, and that prescription is followed through the 1940s and '50s. Occasional grace notes occur, but hangovers and revulsion are usually the order of the day: "I feel sick, disgusted with myself, despairing and obscene. I have a drink to pull myself together at half past eleven and begin my serious drinking at half past four." And: "Evening comes or even noon and

some combination of nervous tensions obscures my memories of what whiskey costs me in the way of physical and intellectual well-being. I could very easily destroy myself. It is ten o'clock now and I am thinking about the noontime snort."

More than a decade later, Cheever is still awash in remorse, denial and booze. He bullies his wife Mary, terrifies his daughter and reflects, "I have the characteristics of a bastard." Cheever's sexuality escapes from the closet: "His soft gaze follows me, settles on me, and I have a deadly itchiness in my crotch. If he should put a hand on my thigh I would not remove it; if I should chance to meet him in the shower I would tackle him." He also has affairs with women and asks himself, "Would I sooner nuzzle D.'s bosom or squeeze R.'s enlarged pectorals?"

Rereading his early notebooks, Cheever accurately observes that "what emerges are two astonishing contests, one with alcohol and one with my wife." He gives Mary a typewriter. She acknowledges it 11 months later. They reconcile. They argue violently about his affairs. One entry says volumes about the temperature of this family crucible: "I find on the floor of Ben's room an unmailed letter... He is alone, he says. He is crying. He is alone with Mum and Dad, the two most self-centered animals in the creation."

With a comparatively small body of work, Cheever established himself as the Chekhov of the American suburb, investing railroad stations, tract houses and their owners with an amalgam of poetry, comedy and pathos. But that was in his fiction. The journals written before his renunciation of liquor, if not infidelity, reveal a blundering father, a conniving lover and a narcissistic mind. Noting that John Updike has made the cover of *TIME*, Cheever grumbles, "My own stubborn and sometimes idle prose has more usefulness." When the "estimable" Saul Bellow publishes a breakthrough novel, the diarist petulantly notes, "I have written first person slang long before 'Augie March' appeared."

Mary and the children are Cheever's literary executors. Why would they allow him—as well as themselves—to be so unflatteringly exposed? Is it a measure of revenge against the man who caused so many injuries? Or a matter of royalties? According to *New Yorker* editor Robert Gottlieb, Cheever wanted his notebooks to be published: the family is simply honoring his wishes. How much honor accrues to the request will be debated for years to come.

Was Cheever an artist? A monster? A tragic clown? *Journals* indicates that he was all three, suggesting that his life could provide the basis of a provocative and controversial film. Take away a hundred pounds, and Marlon Brando might be ideal for the title role.

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Books

Sleeping Pill!

CURTAIN by Michael Korda
Summit; 378 pages; \$19.95

His oddly lifeless gossip novel by Michael Korda, a publishing exec whose works include the yuppie missals *Success!* and *Power!*, is the sort called a roman à clef by the French and "serving up something for the shopgirls" by the English. There is a patronizing quality to the central notion, which is that the reader is a lowbrow who will have naughty fun—"coo, oi didn't know that about 'er"—guessing which real-life celebrities are behaving scandalously behind aliases and sketchy disguises.

Celebrity detection is not difficult here. Felicia Lisle, a beautiful British actress who wins an Oscar just before World War II playing a Southern belle in Hollywood's grandest period extravaganza, sounds a lot like Vivien Leigh. And her lover and frequent co-star, the great Shakespearean actor Sir Robert Vane, would need no letter of introduction to Laurence Olivier. Do we recognize bits of the brassy showman Billy Rose? Is that lovable, red-haired American comedian a scrap of Danny Kaye? Yoo-hoo, Sir Ralph, do we see you?



Korda: bad art

Of course all novels are gossip novels, and most are rip-offs, generally of the author's friends and relatives. But the ethics of pilferage becomes woozy when too recognizable caricatures

of dead grandees wallow in unlikely misbehavior. Ethical questions waft away, though, when the theft works. Then the stolen characters come to life; for instance, the dead King whom Shakespeare slurred as a bottled spider struts in his play as Richard III.

So, yes, both good art and bad art are as sleazy as life itself, and never mind morality. The difference, irritatingly circular, is that good art is good. Korda's shabby novel is a snooze, perhaps because, having purloined his characters, he never felt they were really his to order around. The story does not wake up fully even when Felicia, as Desdemona, runs wildly from the theater because she objects to being strangled. The gossip supplied is that Felicia was a victim of incest, Vane a man of pallid sexuality and, oh dear, some great British Shakespeareans were homosexuals. A wholly unbelievable murder clears the stage for a mushy, mope-happily-ever-after ending. Tomorrow is another book. —By John Shaw

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Dogfight over the Pentagon

Lockheed and Northrop compete to build the Air Force's next superjet—and capture one of the richest prizes in aviation

By PHILIP ELMER-DEWITT

Think you have watched the cutting edge of aerospace technology at work in the gulf? Well, you haven't seen anything yet, say test pilots participating in the U.S. Air Force's Advanced Tactical Fighter program. Stowed in a secure hangar at California's Edwards Air Force Base are hand-built prototypes of what these pilots claim are the two hottest fighter planes ever made. The flyers should know. For three months, in separate flight tests, they have been putting the experimental aircraft, designated YF-22 and YF-23, through their paces: landing in crosswinds, performing stomach-churning 360° rolls and blasting through the atmosphere at twice the speed of sound.

But the real high-stakes dogfight is largely being waged on paper. A manufacturing

team led by Lockheed, maker of the YF-22, and another headed by Northrop, maker of the YF-23, have each submitted 15,000 pages of data to the Air Force in an effort to convince officials that each company's model is the best candidate to replace the F-15 Eagle, the 15-year-old long-range fighter that has been flying critical missions over Kuwait and Iraq. The Air Force is scheduled to choose between the two models on April 30. The winning team could take home an order for 750 planes priced at \$35 million apiece. (A Navy version designed for carrier operations could yield orders for an additional 550 aircraft.) "It's a hell of a competition," says a congressional staff member. "It should be, considering the cost."

The planes, which cost over a billion dollars to develop, easily exceed the Air Force's stringent performance requirements. Both can cruise at supersonic

speeds without having to resort to fuel-gulping afterburners, and they have twice the range of the F-15. The aircraft use advanced computerized controls and simplified screens to lighten the pilot's work load. Both candidates incorporate the latest radar-evading "stealthy" features. They pack as much as 20 times the data-processing power of an F-15 for spotting hostile aircraft before being seen themselves.

The planes have different strong points. Northrop's YF-23, with its sharp, surprising lines, may be stealthier. Its engines are slung under its wings, but their exhaust is sprayed into troughs on the wings' upper surfaces to shield from heat-seeking missiles, a technique borrowed from Northrop's B-2 Stealth bomber. The material surrounding the exhaust outlets in the YF-23 can withstand a temperature of 540°C (1000°F), while the undersurface only a few inches away never gets hotter than 140°C (280°F), making the plane hard to detect by enemy infrared sensors. The slightly smaller Lockheed YF-22 may be more maneuverable, thanks, in part, to nozzles that direct the thrust of the engines' exhaust this way and that. "Thrust vectoring," as this is called, helps push the plane through sharp turns at very high and very low speeds and lets it fly with its nose up at a sharp angle, enabling the pilot to direct weapons from almost any position.

Air Force officials say it is too early to tell which aircraft has the edge. They are still running computer models comparing each plane's performance against hypothetical aircraft that the Soviets might build. One wild card: a requirement tacked onto last year's authorization bill instructing the Air Force to determine whether it needs the Advanced Tactical Fighter at all or can instead make do with upgrades of its existing fleet of F-15s and F-16s. That report is expected in late April, about the same time the Air Force is scheduled to choose the plane it thinks will rule the skies into the next century.

—Reported by Jay Paterzelli/
Washington and Edwin M. Reingold/Los Angeles



LOCKHEED YF22

Maximum speed: Mach 2.0 to 2.2
Cruising speed: Mach 1.58
Wingspan: 13 m (43 ft.)
Height: 5.5 m (18 ft.)
Length: 19 m (64 ft.)
Thrust: 15,900 kg (35,000 lbs.)

The Lockheed fighter may be slightly more maneuverable, thanks to "thrust vectoring," which helps it turn at very low and very high speeds

NORTHROP YF23

Maximum speed: Mach 2.0 to 2.2
Cruising speed: Mach 1.61
Wingspan: 13.2 m (43.5 ft.)
Height: 4.3 m (14 ft.)
Length: 20.5 m (67.5 ft.)
Thrust: 15,900 kg (35,000 lbs.)

The Northrop model has some of the same features that help the company's B-2 Stealth bomber evade radar detection and heat-seeking missiles



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Mid-Life Crisis for Nukes

Designed to last 40 years, U.S. atomic plants face increased maintenance woes and may soon be perilously past their prime

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

Like many of the technicians and engineers who run them, nuclear power plants in the U.S. are pushing middle age. So far, only nine of the nation's 112 commercial reactors, which were designed and licensed to run for 40 years, have passed the midpoint of their careers. But by 1995, 40 more plants will celebrate their 20th birthday. Because of that, and because no new plants have been ordered since 1978, within four years 44% of America's atomic facilities will be past their prime. At a time when the Bush Administration is pushing for a renewed emphasis on nuclear power, there is growing concern about the safety of the country's geriatric plants.

Fueling these worries is a new rule, scheduled to be enacted in June by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, that would stretch the legal life-span of many atomic plants to 60 years. Although the NRC says it will ensure that the industry addresses age-related issues, some scientists charge that the agency's safety guidelines are not stringent enough to prevent catastrophic accidents. Forty years ago, "these nuclear plants, after concerted study, were granted a finite number of years to operate," says M.I.T. physicist Henry Kendall, who shared a Nobel Prize last year for discovering subatomic particles called quarks. "Now the industry wants to extend that time by 20 years. They're changing the rules of the game." Nuclear officials dispute the charge, pointing out that the 1954 Atomic Energy Act contained provisions for license renewal.

First in line for a new lease on life is the oldest commercial reactor in the U.S., the 30-year-old Yankee Rowe nuclear power plant in Rowe, Mass. "Yankee Rowe" reliably produces more than 1 billion kW-h of electricity a year—about one-sixth the capacity of its more modern counterparts—and boasts an excellent safety record. However, after decades of absorbing the high-energy neutrons that are released during nuclear reactions, the walls of Yankee Rowe's reactor vessel have begun to weaken. Just how much is not clear. This so-called reactor embrittlement is potentially the most dangerous problem faced by aging atomic plants, because a crack in these walls could expose the highly radioactive reactor core.

At an NRC hearing last September, Neal Randall, one of the agency's engineers, testified that based on worst-case calculations, he believed the "Yankee

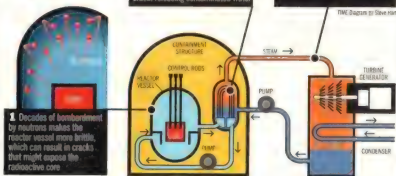
Rowe vessel is quite brittle" and was therefore unsafe to operate even for the remainder of its license. The precise extent of the problem is uncertain because the utility has run out of easily accessible test samples of the original steel used in building the vessel. Ideally, such samples are periodically examined for hidden cracks, allowing scientists to determine how much embrittlement has occurred. Although Randall's opinion was a minority view, it electrified the plant's critics. The utility has promised

can lead to leaks in the steam generators of some reactors, causing the eventual rupture of component tubes and the escape of radioactive water. Such a sequence of events was probably responsible for the accident in Mihama, Japan, last month, which resulted in the release of a small amount of radiation into the sea and air.

Of course, faulty design or parts would exacerbate the problems of aging. In one of the most acrimonious legal battles ever to hit the nuclear industry, the Duke Power Co. of Charlotte, N.C., has accused Pittsburgh-based Westinghouse of fraudulently selling it 16 defective steam generators. The utility claims that the generators, which were installed at two of its plants in the late 1970s, cost more to maintain than normal and may have to be replaced as soon as 1995, long before the end of their

WHEN REACTORS GET OLD

Symptoms of aging in nuclear power plants



to take new weld samples from within the reactor vessel sometime next year.

"We're not saying that aging problems do not exist," says Andrew Kadak, the Rowe plant's chief executive officer. "But we address them constantly. It cost \$40 million to build this plant, and we've put another \$40 million into it to keep it current and efficient." Kadak insists that Yankee's reactor vessel can operate safely for another 20 years: "We believe we can prove that." Among other things, he says, engineers use more advanced techniques to detect flaws and are developing an annealing process that would strengthen irradiated metal. The key point "is the size and thickness of our vessel," he argues. "At eight inches, the walls are as thick as at brand-new plants."

Surprisingly, most of the age-related problems in nuclear facilities are not triggered by radiation but are due to more ordinary kinds of wear and tear. Corrosion

life-span. Duke estimates the cost of putting in new generators to be in excess of \$600 million. Others in the industry are closely following the case, which is scheduled for trial in 1993, since identical Westinghouse generators are in place at 14 other U.S. facilities.

Aging is a concern even outside the containment structures of nuclear reactors. Although the pipes that crisscross such facilities have been designed to withstand tremendous changes in pressure and temperature, they are not immune to corrosion. Nuclear engineers confidently predict that they can find and replace worn-out equipment before it presents a hazard. But as many a householder can sadly attest, pipes do not always signal when they are about to burst. For nuclear reactors as for human beings, growing old frequently brings on unexpected—and irreversible—problems. —With reporting by Robert Ajemian/

Boston

Assessing the War Damage

ABC establishes air supremacy, but the future of network news is fuzzier than ever

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

The anchormen have come home. Star correspondents Arthur Kent and Bob McKeown are eagerly anticipating their next contract negotiations. Even for David Letterman, the end of the war brought a sense of relief. "Finally," he said, "we can go back to ignoring CNN."

Well, some of us can. For the three broadcast networks, the repercussions of the gulf war will not be shaken off so easily. Their coverage from the Persian Gulf won big audiences and, for the most part, critical acclaim. But it cost a bundle: nearly \$50 million at NBC alone, including the loss of revenues from squeamish advertisers. Losses were reportedly in the same range at CBS, though "significantly less" at ABC, according to network executives. At the same time, the war gave a major boost to CNN, which won hordes of potential new devotees with its round-the-clock saturation coverage. Now that the fighting is over, the network news divisions are surveying the damage, reassessing their mission and pondering the future. And wondering whether they have one.

War's end brought a hurried retrenchment for the Big Three's news programs. After having expanded to an hour for much of the war, the evening newscasts have gone back to their old half-hour formats. *America Tonight*, CBS's experimental late-night entry, which was kept alive when war broke out in January, will be pulled from the schedule at the end of the month. And network executives, faced with a war-induced budget crunch, are once again embarking on a painfully familiar task: looking for ways to cut costs.

The gulf war has, moreover, reaffirmed the new competitive order in TV news. Though each of the broadcast networks had its scoops (CBS's McKeown's in Kuwait City), its stars (NBC's Pentagon whiz Fred Francis), its high points and its low moments during the war, ABC emerged as the clear and decisive overall winner. What was once a three-way race may be developing into a long-term mismatch.

Even before the war, ABC had the highest-rated evening newscast (*World News Tonight*), the only established late-night analysis program (*Nightline*) and the deepest bench of star correspondents. During the war, that army of talent simply outgunned its rivals. The network boasted the most coolly authoritative anchor (Peter Jen-

nings), the sharpest interviewer (Ted Koppel) and the best military analysts (Tony Cordesman, General Bernard Trainor). For lucid wrap-ups of the day's events, ABC was the place to turn—and judging from its wide lead in evening-news ratings during the most heavily watched weeks, the place most people did turn. When ABC ran a late-night rebroadcast of General Norman Schwarzkopf's victory briefing, it drew ratings that most entertainment shows would have faced *Seeds* for.

CBS and NBC have been reduced to battling not just for No. 2 but also for their very survival as full-service news organizations. NBC has set up a task force to find ways to make the news operation "more efficient." Translation: more cutbacks ahead. At CBS, where downsizing was going on quietly months before the war, executives have retreated to their bunkers, refusing to comment on another expected

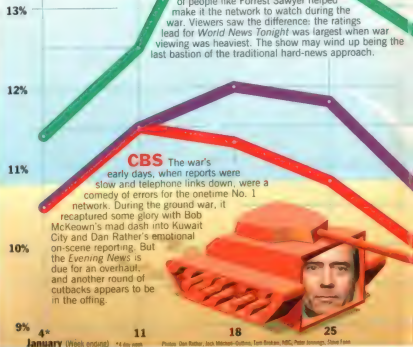
round of cutbacks. The question is where, after years of budget slashing, these new cuts will come. "They're going to have to go back to the drawing board and look for large, large chunks," says Peter Herford, a former CBS News executive who is now director of the Benton Broadcast Journalism Fellowships at the University of Chicago.

Some new money-saving ideas are gaining support. Several network executives have proposed a wider use of pools to cover routine press conferences and such events as presidential trips. Despite weeks of complaints from journalists, the pool setup in the gulf had one advantage for the networks: it cut costs. For footage of

breaking news, the networks will rely increasingly on international news services and local affiliates rather than on their own reporters. "What we're trying

COMBAT PERFORMANCE

Evening-news ratings



to do is emphasize our correspondents who have expertise and experience to bring a more analytical perspective to reporting and not try to cover everything," says Don Browne, executive vice president of NBC News. "We just can't do it anymore."

The dwindling roster of overseas bureaus and reporters may dwindle further. With the rapid-deployment capability the networks demonstrated in the gulf war, says ABC News president Rooney Arledge, "maybe the bureau structure is not as important as it used to be. You still have to get out and cover the story, but you don't have to be on location all the time."

As their newsgathering resources shrink, the evening telecasts are shifting from a traditional events-of-the-day approach and embracing more magazine-style elements. The NBC *Nightly News*, under executive producer Steve Friedman, has dressed up its broadcasts with lengthy segments each evening on health, the family and other subjects, collectively dubbed the "Daily Difference." The CBS *Evening News* appears headed in a similar direction. In the midst of the war, the show's executive producer and two of its most senior staffers were replaced. New boss Erik Sorenson, 35, is a graduate of local news who has spent the past 16 months running the CBS *Morning News*. His plans for the evening show are not yet clear, but many insiders expect that Dan Rather—who will

mark his 10th anniversary in the anchor chair this week with little fanfare—will be shoved aside or teamed with a co-anchor within the next few months.

The evening newscasts are groping for their role in a hotly competitive environment in which viewers can see most of the day's news well before the networks get around to their nightly summary. Local stations get news footage not only from their networks but also from such independent services as Conus (a satellite-beamed cooperative with 103 member stations in the U.S.) and CNN, which, along with its cable outlets, supplies news footage to 246 broadcast stations. Early in the war, many local stations replaced their network's coverage with reports from CNN. One of them, Minneapolis' WCCO-TV, substituted CNN's dramatic Baghdad footage for CBS's coverage on the first night of the war and drew the highest ratings of any CBS affiliate in the top 25 markets. WCCO executives say they will continue to monitor their satellite feeds and pick the best. "The system that I guess was born with the gulf war is one we will now embellish and use as our frontline plan for any breaking major story," says WCCO assistant news director John Lansing.

Most local news directors still voice support for the networks as their primary supplier of national and international

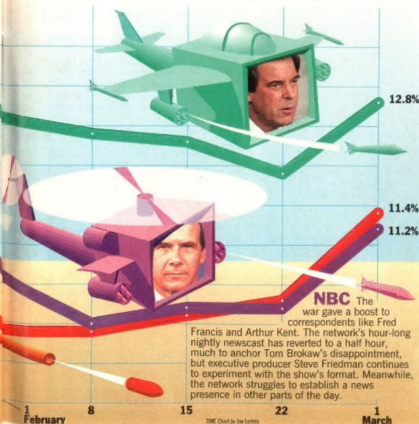
news. "Our ratings with the network news have never been higher," says David Lane, general manager of Dallas' WFAA-TV. "The Persian Gulf crisis underscores the importance of network news." Yet some TV news veterans contend that the money-losing evening newscasts are an endangered species. Says Sandy Socolow, a former executive producer of the CBS *Evening News*: "I'm betting that by the political conventions in 1992, one or two of the networks will abandon the evening newscast as we now know it." Instead, the networks could operate as glorified wire services, supplying individual stories to stations, which could then fashion the material into their own newscast. NBC in January set up a low-cost prototype for such an approach: an affiliate news service based in North Carolina, where less-expensive, nonunion employees are putting together reports from NBC correspondents and feeding them to network affiliates 24 hours a day.

Executives at all three networks insist that no radical moves like eliminating the evening news are in the cards. ABC, with the highest ratings and healthiest bottom line, seems the most committed to maintaining the traditional news-of-the-day approach. "We have tried not to go the sensational, magazine kind of way that I think some of our competitors have," says ABC's Arledge. Says Jennings: "I have been listening to people talk about the changing format of the evening news since God was a boy. There are not many ways you can change a 22-minute format and still pretend to tell any of the news of the day."

Actually, ABC's *World News Tonight* was one of the first to experiment with magazine-style elements, in features like its "Person of the Week." Yet the newscast hews most closely to the fading verities of network news: it pays the most attention to international affairs, seems the least enamored of show-biz gimmicks and human-interest fluff, and has the anchorman who most approximates the Cronkite-Huntley model of Olympian detachment. While CBS's Rather and NBC's Tom Brokaw jetted to the gulf for the start of the ground war, Jennings remained at his anchor post in New York City. Some viewers and critics got a charge out of watching Rather pick through Kuwaiti ammunition stocks, but as Arledge contends, "We thought Peter was better utilized here, where he could pull the story together."

There may be a bright side for viewers in this new competitive landscape. For years the network newscasts have gone about their business in pretty much the same way, like three versions of the New York Times. Now that ABC has apparently grabbed that franchise, CBS and NBC may work harder to establish different niches. The challenge for them is to settle on a new game plan before they can no longer afford to remain in the match.

—With reporting by Marc Hequet/Minneapolis and William Tynan/New York



Essay

Murray Gart

Some Advice for King Hussein

There's nothing subtle about war, though some think of it as a form of diplomacy. It produces only extremes: winners and losers. When it ends, sweet victory's trumpeters sound off on TV and rush into print to praise the winners and tell how they did it. The losers are another matter. They suffer greatly and arouse human compassion, but who really cares? They're the objects of history, not the subjects, unless they somehow turn their defeat around.

Identifying the gulf-war losers—Saddam Hussein, Yasser Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan—is easy. They badly misled their people, who will pay the price for following them into trauma, tragedy and despair. Now each in his own way is fated to lose power and be remembered only as a failure. Of the three, however, Jordan's King Hussein has one last chance to recover. But he must move fast. The window of opportunity to preserve his honor and his throne will close as soon as Jordanians begin to need an outlet for their frustration. Saddam and Arafat are finished, period!

By all reckoning, the King should step down. His decision to back Saddam's fatal plunge into Kuwait was catastrophic. If the King looked at his situation clearly and not defensively, he would see that backing Saddam was sheer folly. Jordan, bereft of financial support, is depressed and dangerously unstable. Gross national product is down 50%. The population of 3 million—60% Palestinian—teems with bitter, unemployed citizens and dispossessed gulf refugees. Anti-American chants in the streets of Amman will soon turn into cries for revenge. But abdication and exile are not the King's only means of escape. A far more honorable course is still open.

Hussein should summon all the dignity at his command and announce he is stepping up, not out. He should turn Jordan into a democracy by redefining the monarch's role, passing his governing powers to parliamentarians elected by his subjects, and granting them freedom to run the country. After that, he should continue to rule as England's Queen Elizabeth does—proudly. Absolute Arab monarchies are on the downside of history's curve, and Hussein, at least, knows it. In late 1989, to the chagrin of hereditary Arab monarchs, he ordered up Jordan's first real election for seats in parliament, a body that serves only at his pleasure. His parliament is less than perfect as a vehicle for orderly transition to popular rule, but with time running out, it will have to do.

Hussein's transfer of power would have all sorts of redeeming effects. But establishing democratic government would accomplish one thing above all: it would transform Jordan into a Palestinian state. New Palestine (or whatever it got called) would be what Palestinians, and the King, have been struggling to create for two generations. Their efforts have focused on the West Bank and Gaza, unlikely places now for a Palestinian state, rather than Jordan. But the new government would reflect Jordan's bottom line: a large Palestinian majority in a nation where Palestinians control 75% of the wealth.

New Palestine would fulfill in Jordan the Palestinian statehood dreams of Arafat and the P.L.O.—dreams that have always been beyond their grasp. Who then would need Arafat and his liberation organization to create a Palestinian state that already existed? Arafat's official power would vanish overnight. Talented Palestinian leaders brought to the fore to run Jordan would control the state. Arafat, discredited by his mindless actions of late, would have to retire and salvage what he could of his once revered status among Palestinians.

It would take courage for Hussein to democratize his country. Many loyal Jordanians would brand him a traitor. But their choices too have narrowed. If the King doesn't act, he'll lose power, leaving them without a monarch to help preserve their rights in New Palestine.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and Kuwait's Emir Jaber al-Sabah would be deeply distressed to find democracy and Palestine in their backyard. But they could do nothing about it. Other countries with a basic interest in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially Syria and Egypt, would privately applaud Hussein.

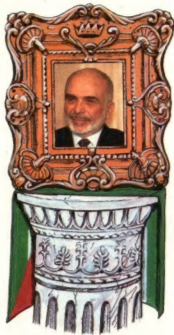
New Palestine would send Israel into shock and generate feverish debate among Israelis. But in the end their only choice would be to face the new facts created by having a reconfigured neighbor. Given George Bush's search for a "bolder idea" than resuming efforts to bring Israel into talks to free Palestinians from military rule, a visionary move by King Hussein should quickly restore friendly relations with Washington. Who knows, Bush might even volunteer to join the King as a cheerleader for the new democratic state in the new world order.

New Palestine's prime foreign business would be to engage Israel in immediate, direct negotiations to determine how best to incorporate the West Bank and Gaza into the new state and to define the rights of Palestinians so that they could live freely where they are now, as new citizens of New Palestine with voting rights in Amman. With support and oversight from the U.S. and the Soviet Union, talks would be hard for Israel to refuse.

In advance, the issue of who represents the Palestinians would have been settled for the first time in 23 years. The negotiators would decide how to ensure Israel's security, withdraw the army of occupation, provide free access to Jerusalem's holy places and define how 1.7 million Arabs could share their West Bank and Gaza homeland with 210,000 Israeli Jews who also live in the territories.

If the King acted wisely now, he would win the applause of his friend in the White House and the world. And instead of being a king whose time ran out, Hussein would be remembered as a great peacemaker, the father of New Palestine.

Murray Gart is a former chief of correspondents for TIME, former editor of the Washington Star and author of a forthcoming book on the Middle East.



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